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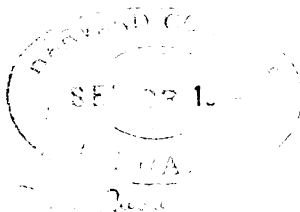
JOHN HENRY CARDINAL NEWMAN

BY
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AND
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The frontispiece is a reproduction in photogravure of Miss Emmeline Deane's portrait of Cardinal Newman, painted in 1889, now in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

PREFACE.

In this brief biography we have endeavoured to give an impression of Cardinal Newman's mind in its main characteristics, and to provide such an objective setting and so much narrative of events as should make its development plain.

*We have, as far as possible, used materials other than those to be found in the *Apologia pro vita sua* in the hope that this little book might provide illustrations to that great book,—illustrations which hitherto have been scattered through many volumes.*

We are indebted to the writers of the books mentioned in the bibliography.

A. R. W.

G. H. S. B.

BRIGATE, Midsummer, 1901.

CHRONOLOGY.

1801

February 21. John Henry Newman born in London. Baptized at S. Benet Fink, London, April 9.

1816

Failure of Ramsbottom, Newman, Ramsbottom & Co., Bankers, in which house his father was a partner.

December 14. Entered at Trinity College, Oxford. Called into residence the following June.

1818

May. Gained a Trinity Scholarship: this was his only academical distinction.

1820

Graduated B.A. but failed to gain Honours.

1822

April 12. Elected Fellow of Oriel College, "the turning-point of my life."

1824

June 13. Ordained Deacon in Christ

Church and appointed Curate of S. Clement's, Oxford.

June 23. Preached his first sermon at Warton from the text "Man goeth forth to his work and to his labour until the evening." His last Anglican sermon was from the same text.

1825

March. Appointed Vice-Principal of S. Alban Hall, Oxford.

May 29. Ordained Priest.

August 7. Administered his first Eucharist.

1826

Resigned Vice-Principalship of S. Alban Hall and curacy of S. Clement's upon being appointed a Tutor of Oriel.

July 2. Preached his first University Sermon.

1827

Publication of Keble's *Christian Year*.

1828

January 5. Death of his sister, Mary

Sophia: one of the two "great blows" which "rudely awakened" him.

March 14. Instituted to the vicarage of S. Mary the Virgin, Oxford.

1829

Catholic Emancipation Act passed.

1830

Began to work upon *The Arians of the Fourth Century*, which was finished in 1832 and published in 1833.

1832

Resigned Oriel Tutorship.

December 8. Started with R. Hurrell Froude on the Mediterranean tour, during which Newman wrote "Lead, Kindly Light."

1833

July 9. Returned to England.

July 14. Keble preached his Assize sermon on "National Apostasy," "the start of the religious movement of 1833."

September. Beginning of the issue of *Tracts for the Times*.

1834-36

At work upon *The Prophetical office of the Church viewed relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism*, published in 1837 and, later, as part of *The Via Media*.

1835

From this year E. B. Pusey was closely identified with the Tractarians.

1836

Death of Richard Hurrell Froude. *Elucidations of Dr. Hampden's Theological Statements*. Appointment of Dr. Hampden as Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford.

1837-43

Plain and Parochial Sermons.

1838

Lectures on Justification. Publication of Froude's *Remains*, edited by Keble and Newman.

1838-41

Editor of the *British Critic*.

1839

June. Began the study of the history of the Monophysites, and, later (September), read the "Donatist" article in the *Dublin Review*. For the first time he "was seriously alarmed" as regards the Anglican position.

1841

February 27. Issue of *Tract 90*, the last of the series.

March 15. Board of Heads of Houses condemns *Tract 90* without waiting for Newman's reply, dated March 13, and known to be coming.

July–November. The "three blows which broke me": I. The conviction of the parallelism of semi-Arianism and Anglicanism. II. The Bishops' charges against him. III. The Jerusalem bishopric.

1842

Retired to Littlemore.

1843

Sermons bearing on Subjects of the Day.

1843 (*continued*)

“Formal retraction [in the *Conservative Journal*] of all the hard things . . . said against the Church of Rome.”

February 2. Preached in the University pulpit, for the last time, on “The Theory of Developments in Religious Doctrine.”

May 14. Dr. Pusey preached the delated sermon on “The Holy Eucharist.”

September 18. Resigned the living of S. Mary’s.

September 25. Last sermon, as an Anglican, at Littlemore.

Sermons chiefly on the Theory of Religious Belief preached before the University of Oxford.

1843–45

Lives of the English Saints (portions only by Newman).

1844

Publication of W. G. Ward’s *Ideal of a Christian Church*.

1845

February 13. W. G. Ward condemned

by Convocation and deprived of his degrees. Proposed condemnation by Convocation of the principles of *Tract 90* vetoed by the Proctors.

Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine.

October 3. Resigned Oriel Fellowship.

October 9. Received into the Roman Catholic Church by Father Dominic, Passionist, at Littlemore.

November 1. Confirmed at Oscott by Bishop Wiseman.

1846

February 23. Left Oxford for Oscott. He did not return for thirty-two years. Went to Rome, was ordained Priest, and made Doctor of Divinity.

1847

Returned to England to establish near Birmingham an Oratory of the Brotherhood of S. Philip Neri.

1848

Loss and Gain.

1849

Sermons addressed to Mixed Congregations.
Founded a branch of the Birmingham Oratory in King William Street, Strand, London, afterwards removed to Brompton. In the next year the London house became a congregation separate from the Birmingham Oratory.

1850

September 29. Creation of Roman Catholic Sees in England by Papal Bull. *Certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans in Catholic teaching considered.*

1851

Lectures on the present position of Catholics in England.

1852

June 21. Achilli libel trial began. Newman found guilty and fined (January 23, 1853) £100.

1854

Appointed Rector of the Catholic University in Dublin. *The Idea of a University defined and illustrated.*

1854 (*continued*)

December 8. Pope Pius IX. issued the Bull *Ineffabilis Deus*, defining the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.

1856

Callista: A Tale of the Third Century.

1857

Sermons preached on Various Occasions.

1858

Returned to Birmingham.

1859

Established the Edgbaston School.

1864

January. C. Kingsley's article in *Macmillan's Magazine*.

April-June. *Apologia pro vita sua*, the reply to the above.

1865-66

"The Dream of Gerontius."

1868

Verses on Various Occasions.

1870

An Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent.

July 18. Papal Infallibility *ex cathedra* decreed at the Vatican Council.

1877

Elected Honorary Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford.

1878

Revisited Oxford for the first time since 1845. Leo XIII. succeeds Pius IX.

1879

May 12. Created Cardinal Deacon of the Holy Roman Church of the title of S. George in Velabro.

1890

August 11. Died of pneumonia.

August 19. Buried at Rednal in the same grave as Father Ambrose St. John, "my life, under God, for thirty-two years."

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“ Understanding pursues something which it does not know by means which it does : while Genius endeavours to effect what it has a previous idea of by means of which it has to ascertain the use.”

FROUDE'S *Remains*.

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I.

IF one were set the task of selecting a spot on the globe's surface peculiarly typical of the World (in the theological sense), one could hardly do better than point to Old Broad Street in the City of London. Two great railway termini disgorge almost upon its pavement in the morning and engulf at night such a host of men and women engaged in all degrees of money-getting as only use has made seem less than wonderful. Nevertheless, it was somewhere on the site of one of the great human warrens that extend story above story, passage beyond passage, office beyond office, fronting upon this street that on February 21 of the opening year of the nineteenth century, "in the World but not of the World," John Henry Newman was born.

Close by, in 1672, Richard Baxter delivered his Tuesday Lectures at Pinner's

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Hall. The author of *The Saint's Everlasting Rest* strove in his way for unity of faith. He records of his father that "he set me to read the historical parts of Scripture, which greatly delighted me." John Henry Newman, who, like this other, set his world by the ears in seeking "unity of spirit, in the bond of peace," was, too, "brought up from a child to take great delight in reading the Bible." Baxter further records of his parents that "they never spake against bishops or the Prayer-Book or the ceremonies of the Church." So, also, Newman's parents appear to have accepted the teaching of the Church of England, as they understood such teaching, which in those days was not incompatible with a large infusion of Calvinism.

His father, John Newman, a banker, seems to have sprung from a family of the yeoman class settled in Cambridgeshire, though originally deriving from

Holland. His mother's family was of more eminence,—good solid folk devoted to paper-making and engraving. This family, by name Fourdrinier, held Huguenot principles, and doubtless sought for and found in England a home where they could worship undisturbed in their own way.

John Henry Newman was baptized in the church of S. Benet Fink, City of London, April 9, 1801. In the church which stood upon the site of that building previous to the Great Fire Richard Baxter had been married in 1662. The later church is now also demolished.

Jemima Fourdrinier, who inherited the family tradition in religion in the modified form which it would naturally assume after generations of intercourse with English neighbours, taught her son to read the works of Protestant divines. He appears to have read Thomas Newton (*Dissertations on the Prophecies*), Thomas Scott of Aston Sand-

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ford, and Dr. Watts, as well as the volumes of the older nonconformist divine already referred to, Richard Baxter, with an interest, and at least a partial apprehension, extraordinary in one so young. Thomas Scott, he afterwards said, was a "writer who made a deeper impression on my mind than any other, and to whom (humanly speaking) I almost owe my soul."

At a time presumably a little anterior to these readings the little John Henry Newman, being then seven years old, was sent to school at Ealing. This school was kept by Dr. George Nicholas. It appears to have been an excellent establishment, conducted much on the lines of the great public schools. Of his school life there is practically no record beyond a reference or two in the *Apologia pro vita sua*, and a few additional lines prefixed to Mrs. Mozley's *Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman*. There are no stories of the

“temper imperious and wilful” he is said to have had later, though one would expect evidence of it at this period. On the contrary he appears to have been remarkable only for his studiousness and to have impressed observers with feelings of “confidence and respect.”

It is said that he was never seen to take part in any game; on the other hand it is also said that in the gardens of Bloomsbury Square, near which the Newman family lived at one time (17, Southampton Street), two boys whose whole destinies were bound up with the Jewish race, the one by blood, the other by intellectual life,—Benjamin Disraeli and John Henry Newman,—played together. It is curious to note by what a set of coincidences the Newman family seem to have dogged unconsciously the steps of Richard Baxter, whose wife died in his “most pleasant and convenient house” in Southampton Square, now Bloomsbury Square, in 1681.

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At the age of fourteen he came under a personal influence which deepened and confirmed the Calvinistic tendency of his home teaching and of the serious books that had been put into his hands there. The Rev. Walter Mayers, of Pembroke College, Oxford, one of the classical masters at Ealing, first turned his mind in the direction of dogma, when the ideas he had gathered from this or that book and brooded upon began to assume a crystallised form. He says that at this age he was first conscious of that definite change of thought known as "inward conversion," and he records that the Rev. Walter Mayers "was the human means of this beginning of divine faith in me." This teacher put into his hands books "all of the school of Calvin."

From a book of Romaine's he adopted the doctrine of final perseverance, which he retained for six years; while from Thomas Scott of Aston Sandford, whom

he greatly admired for "his bold unworldliness and vigorous independence of mind," he adapted as proverbs the sentences "Holiness rather than peace" and "Growth the only evidence of life," and learned and accepted the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. At the age of fifteen he read Joseph Milner's *Church History*, and was "nothing short of enamoured of the long extracts from St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and the other Fathers which I found there." At the same time he read Newton's *Dissertations on the Prophecies* and "became most firmly convinced that the Pope was the Antichrist predicted by Daniel, St. Paul, and St. John." A book of an entirely different character, *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, by William Law, impressed him with the "main Catholic doctrine of the warfare between the city of God and the powers of darkness."

There remains to be recorded another

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set of ideas which he has himself enumerated in the following words : —

I used to wish the Arabian Tales were true: my imagination ran on unknown influences, on magical powers, and talismans. . . . I thought life might be a dream, or I an Angel, and all this world a deception, my fellow-angels by a playful device concealing themselves from me, and deceiving me with the semblance of a material world.

Reading in the spring of 1816 a sentence from [Dr. Watts's] *Remnants of Time*, entitled "the Saints unknown to the world," to the effect, that, "there is nothing in their figure or countenance to distinguish them," etc., etc., I supposed he spoke of Angels who lived in the world, as it were, disguised.

I was very superstitious, and for some time previous to my conversion (when I was fifteen) used constantly to cross myself on going into the dark.

He tells us that it was early in life that he was isolated "from the objects which surrounded" him, confirmed in the "mistrust of the reality of material phenomena," and made to "rest in the thought of two and two only absolute and luminously self-evident beings, my-

self and my Creator.” Cognate with this feeling of “separation from the visible world,” a “deep imagination took possession of [him] that it would be the will of God [he] should lead a single life,” allied with the idea that this sacrifice was necessary for devotion to some object not yet clearly defined.

When he was fourteen he read “Paine’s *Tracts against the Old Testament*, and found pleasure in thinking of the objections which were contained in them,” also some of Hume’s *Essays*, including, so he told his father, that upon *Miracles*. Perhaps this is an instance of a “temper imperious and wilful”; but he admits that his last statement may have been a “brag.”

It will be seen from the extracts relating to his detachment from the external world that he was innately very much of a Platonist, and that he was already ripe for the discovery that all external things might be but symbols and instruments

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of a divine revelation, but types of an Archtype, letters spelling out to man an evident Divine language, had he but the key. It will also be recognised, then, that it was more than the love of excitement, which would be normal enough in an ordinary boy, which induced in him

such a devotion, I may call it, to Walter Scott. As a boy, in the early summer mornings, I read *Waverley* and *Guy Mannering* in bed, when they first came out, before it was time to get up; and long before that—I think, when I was eight years old—I listened eagerly to *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, which my mother and aunt were reading aloud.

It is worth while to insist upon the difference between the mere accidental growth of mind—that which was induced by surroundings, and ideas unconsciously absorbed from these surroundings, even though these conceptions were strongly held (as that Rome was Antichrist)—and this innate feeling of detachment from a world of unrealities. Calvinistic tenets of “heaven and hell,

divine favour and divine wrath," might or might not be retained, or with any degree of difference, but it was another matter with convictions that almost amounted in themselves to a sixth sense.

II.

ON December 14, 1816, the name of John Henry Newman was entered at Trinity College, Oxford, and in the following June he was called into residence there. He came up to the university a dreamy boy in his sixteenth year, with a mind biassed in the direction of religion, if not yet of theology. The ideas which formed the base of this tendency were not reduced to any intellectual system. Indeed, as we have already seen, they consisted of almost mutually destructive theories; the only extraordinary thing about them, apart from their inconsistency, being the strength of conviction with which they were held. On the whole, he distinctly belonged by sympathy and such theology as he understood to the Evangelical party, representatives of which he would meet at Oxford, but he possessed something which was not common to that or to any

ordinary type of mind, the wish to see things as they really are, the desire for light, and the willingness to follow the teaching of that light when found.

The shy boy, one of those "obviously meditative souls which seem 'not to sleep o' nights,'" was probably something of an enigma to his fellow-freshmen, a boy to be speculated about, but, in the rush of undergraduate spirits, in the long run to be counted out by the mass of them, though he was seldom apparently disliked.

One warm friendship he made at Trinity with a fellow-freshman,—one which lasted without interruption until that friend's death,—with John William Bowden. He was three years older than Newman to a day, and he came into residence at the same time.

Newman says, "Almost everything depends at Oxford, in the matter of acquaintance, on proximity of rooms: you choose your friend not so much by your

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tastes as by your staircase." It does not seem that the staircase in this instance was the means that brought them together for Bowden was sent to call on him the day after Newman came into residence. The things held in common were in any case more than geographical, for there was seldom, except in trifling matters and for the shortest periods of time, any difference of opinion between the friends.

Members of the Evangelical party would naturally be glad to influence, from the best motives, the opinions of the young man who started with so much of their religious outlook ; and no doubt it was during this Trinity period that he gained the experience of Oxford Evangelicals which he has preserved in the descriptions of the early university life of the supposititious Charles Rising, the hero of *Loss and Gain*. His keen observation, of even trivial or personal matters, which in after life gave to his relig-

ious teaching so much of its reality to men, was already at work, accompanied by a certain sense of humour, sometimes running into the grotesque. Here is an account of a tutor's breakfast; Mr. Vincent "piqued himself" that he managed these difficult affairs rather well.

The material part was easy enough. . . . It was a more arduous undertaking to provide the running accompaniment of thought. . . . "Mr. Bruton," said Vincent, "what news from Staffordshire? Are the potteries pretty quiet now? Our potteries grow in importance. You need not look at the cup and saucer before you, Mr. Catley; these come from Derbyshire. But you find English crockery everywhere on the continent. I myself found half a willow-pattern saucer in the crater of Vesuvius. Mr. Sikes, I think *you* have *been* in Italy?" "No, sir," said Sikes; "I was near going; my family set off a fortnight ago, but I was kept here by these confounded *smalls*." "Your *Responsiones*," answered the tutor, in a tone of rebuke; "an unfortunate delay for you, for it is to be an unusually fine season, if the meteorologists of the sister University are right in their predictions. Who is in the *Responsion* schools, Mr. Sikes?" "Butson of Leicester is the strict one, sir; he plucks one man in three. He plucked last week

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Patch of St. George's, and Patch has taken his oath he'll shoot him; and Butson has walked about ever since with a bull-dog." "These are reports, Mr. Sikes, which often flit about, but must not be trusted. Mr. Patch could not have given a better proof that his rejection was deserved."

In May, 1818, Newman obtained a Trinity Scholarship of £60 for nine years; even this small contribution towards an income was grateful, for the means of his family were greatly straitened by the failure on the 8th of March, 1816, of the banking house of Ramsbottom, Newman, Ramsbottom & Co., 72, Lombard Street, in which his father was a partner, caused by the shrinkage in prices at the close of the Napoleonic wars. The affairs of the firm were ultimately satisfactorily wound up and the creditors paid in full. A later venture of John Newman's was unsuccessful, and it became incumbent upon the young undergraduate to contribute as rapidly as possible to his own support. He at-

tempted to take his B.A. degree with Honours when only nineteen, but overwork and a summons to be examined earlier than he had expected caused a failure. He broke down so seriously in health that he was obliged to withdraw from the examination, so losing all chance of Honours though he secured his pass degree.

In the previous year Newman's name was entered at Lincoln's Inn. It had been his father's wish that he should adopt the Bar as a profession, and the son, acting upon this advice, kept a few terms; but his mind turned more and more exclusively in the direction of religion, and the Church seemed to offer him his natural vocation. For this reason, and also, in a less degree, because the law seemed unlikely (especially since his failure in the schools) to afford him a more certain source of income, the idea of the Bar was abandoned.

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At Easter, 1822, Newman stood for a Fellowship of Oriel, which had become, under the Provostship of Dr. Copleston, the leading college of the university. It was fully conscious of its distinction. Its Provost and Fellows passed mere learning with a deprecatory wave of the hand, but opened the doors of its Common Room to men who could use the knowledge they had ; they passed minds which picked up like a stage-coach and welcomed minds which grew as a tree. Critics said its "Common Room stank of Logic"; exact thought was hammered into exact expression there. The whole of the papers set in the Fellowship examinations were designed to show *how* a man could use his knowledge ; and the most trying portion, the *vivâ voce* examination, was primarily directed to find how a man could use his wits at short notice. It was no wonder, then, that on April 12, 1822, when Newman was summoned to

“The Tower” to shake hands with the Provost and Fellows on his election, he felt it to be “of all days most memorable” and “the turning-point of [his] life.”

This was the occasion of his first meeting with Keble, already a Fellow; he had previously only been known to Newman by report — “his had been the first name which I had heard spoken of with reverence rather than admiration, when I came up to Oxford” — and by a passing glimpse in the street. In a letter written to J. W. Bowden he describes how he bore the congratulations, “till Keble took my hand, and then felt so abashed and so unworthy of the honour done me, that I seemed desirous of quite sinking into the ground.” Keble (who had been elected a Fellow of Oriel at the age of nineteen, in 1811, after having taken from Corpus Christi a Double First, and who carried off the Latin and English Essays in the follow-

ing year) returned to Gloucestershire where he worked quietly as his father's curate, so that Newman did not continue to meet him nor to be influenced by him in any way at this time.

The atmosphere at Oriel was "No-etic"; men were asking questions about matters which at other times had been considered fundamental and beyond the limits of dispute. The old Evangelicalism, never a sturdy growth at Oxford, was dying away; the old "high-and-dry" orthodoxy made no appeal to vigorous, subtle minds; the new spirit of Liberalism was in the air. A fresh synthesis was required that would hold mind by mind. The college was, indeed, the seat of a little renaissance; men felt the necessity of beginning again, of finding and testing the bases of belief, moral and intellectual. The well-head of thought, which was to disperse into streams taking such different courses, was as yet but an agitated pool.

In the Oriel Common Room Newman came into touch with acute and vigorous minds moving in a direction somewhat different from his own. The two men who most influenced him were Richard Whately, who was elected Fellow in 1811, at the same time as Keble, and who afterwards became Archbishop of Dublin, and Edward Hawkins, who had been elected Fellow in 1813, and who was appointed in 1823 to the college living of S. Mary's.

Whately's principal characteristic was a vigorous common sense, which exhibited itself sometimes to the outside world as a somewhat aggressive unconventionality. The study of metaphysics he considered a methodical way of wasting time, nor could he conceive that it had any relation to real life. Theology he had neither inclination to study nor patience enough to understand, except so far as a modicum of it contributed to order in the Church. His methods of

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thought were like his habits of walking "cross country"; but he had much kindness and real consideration for others, notably for Newman. He encouraged his opening mind, helped him to overcome his shyness and taught him to think for himself, to see with his own eyes and walk with his own feet. Specifically he taught him the conception of the Church as a "substantive body or corporation" apart from, and independent of, the State.

Hawkins was, in both body and mind, very different from Whately. "His pale, finely cut, and beautiful features" mirrored a mind exact and sensitive.

He led me [says Newman] to that mode of limiting and clearing my sense in discussion and in controversy, and of distinguishing between cognate ideas, and of obviating mistakes by anticipation, which to my surprise has since been considered, even in quarters friendly to me, to savour of the polemics of Rome.

He taught him also to give up his "remaining Calvinism," to receive the

doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration and to accept the principle of Tradition ; *i.e.*, that Scripture "was never intended to teach doctrine, but only to prove it,"—a proposition not then so obvious as it has since become.

There was another member of Common Room, though not a Fellow of the college, who had great influence in forming the minds of Whately, of Hawkins and of Newman. This was Joseph Blanco White (christened José Maria Blanco), a man of mixed Irish and Spanish blood, born at Seville in 1775, best known as the author of the sonnet, "Night and Death." Baptized a Catholic, his restless and acute mind had led him, ever in search of peace but apparently finding little, from the priesthood of his own Church to that of England, and was to lead him further. His training in the Roman Church, together with his rejection of that system, made him welcome at the intellectually disturbed

university and interesting to men who knew little of the theology of the Schoolmen or of the writings of the Fathers. By Blanco White Newman was led "to have freer views on the subject of inspiration than were usual in the Church of England at the time," a change of view that in itself, and with the stated limitation, does not appear very alarming. The influence of Blanco White upon Newman was formative in the sense that it typified to him more and more clearly as their minds diverged, each travelling to an opposite goal; the effects of Liberalism, and exhibited the ideas and qualities which he had to combat.

The light which came to the young Fellow of Oriel, occupied as ever with the things of the spirit, was not, however, derived from any person, but from a book. These little steps in opinion were matters of intellect, slowly acquired; the impeccable instinct of gen-

ius had flung open the windows of the mind, and admitted the old light. This book was *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature*, the work of a former Commoner of Oriel, that Bishop Butler whom Horace Walpole described as having been “wafted to the see of Durham in a cloud of metaphysics,” who was so tired of the “frivolous lectures” and “unintelligible disputations” of the Oriel of his day.

“Two and two only absolute and luminously self-evident beings, myself and my Creator,”—“mistrust of the reality of material phenomena”—the old ideas of the boy! God—and all else symbols and shadows of Himself, and the destiny of the Soul to interpret them truly!

III.

It is evident that Newman's Evangelical views were being gradually eliminated as he realised that they could not satisfy man's needs, nor offer a reasonable solution of the facts of life, but it is not so evident that he had yet consciously accepted those principles of ecclesiastical authority which were to mark his teaching as an Anglican. Something of these he had already learned: he was yet to learn more from others. His views were tinged still with some infusion of "Liberalism," as were so many minds in varying degrees at Oriel. The word "Liberalism" is one often used by Newman, it is the subject of a note in his *Apologia*, and, shortly, he defines the word, as meaning in his mouth, "the anti-dogmatic principle and its developments" or, more fully, "false liberty of thought, or the exercise of thought, upon matters in which, from the constitution

of the human mind, thought cannot be brought to any successful issue, and therefore is out of place," or, again, the "system which says that one religion is as good as another."

From Butler's *Analogy* he had taken, speaking broadly, two principles. Firstly: That revealed sacramental religion is the key to natural religion, the temporal things which are seen being the types and administrators of the unseen eternal realities, and of this conclusion he says "the theory to which I was inclined as a boy, namely, the unreality of material phenomena, is an ultimate resolution." Secondly: That Probability is the guide of life. The necessity of guarding and defining the application of this latter rule led him to the consideration of the logical cogency of Faith and to his books on this subject.

On Trinity Sunday, June 13, 1824, Newman was ordained Deacon in Christ Church cathedral by Dr. Legge, Bishop

of Oxford, with the title of a curacy of S. Clement's, Oxford. Bishop Pearson, in 1658, speaking of the restoration of his church of S. Clement, Eastcheap, of the completion of his book on the creed, and of the recent rediscovery of S. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians, said :—"Now, as by the providence of God the memory of that primitive saint hath been restored in our age, so my desire aimeth at nothing else but that the primitive faith may be restored." These words would describe accurately the desire of the young deacon who had "wept most abundant and most sweet tears" when he thought what he had then become when he first bound himself "to the ministry of God in that old church of S. Frideswide, the patroness of Oxford," and it is curious that his name should be bound up from the first with that of the great bishop of Rome, whose name is commemorated third after the Apostles in every Roman Mass, and of

whose office he was one day to take so exalted a view : one so divergent from any he could then have held as of the "primitive faith."

In September, Newman's father died, and shortly afterwards his mother and sisters came to live near Iffley.

In 1822 a brilliant young student of Christ Church was reading for his Fellowship of Oriel. He came of an ancient family, originally French Walloons, that had become possessed by a marriage connection of the estates, and had assumed the name, of another family as ancient and distinguished as itself. This was Edward Bouverie Pusey, son of the Honourable Philip Bouverie (Pusey) and grandson of the first Viscount Folkestone. Unlike his father, Edward Pusey held by the Whigs in politics ; indeed, intellectually, he was a little tainted with the prevailing Byronism, induced in his case by disappointment in an affair of the heart. He was slightly built, with

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curling yellow hair, a high forehead and peculiarly delicately shaped hands. In the autumn of 1822 he dined as a stranger at Oriel High-table, on view as a future candidate for a Fellowship. Newman thus describes his first sight of him: —

His light curly head of hair was damp with the cold water which his headaches made necessary for his comfort; he walked fast with a young manner of carrying himself, and stood rather bowed, looking up from under his eyebrows, his shoulders rounded, and his bachelor's gown not buttoned at the elbow, but hanging loose over his wrists. His countenance was very sweet, and he spoke little.

Pusey was elected and Newman began to know him. He patronised him a little at first, but was too good a judge of character to remain long untouched and even unawed by the intellect, affection and humility of the new Fellow. There was little accommodation for Fellows at Oriel; and Pusey and Newman had lodgings together in the High Street, from which

they found it "very inconvenient [on wet days] to paddle to dinner in thin shoes and silk stockings." Thus began Newman's connection with one of the most chivalrous and self-denying friends that man ever had ; and so was founded a friendship which made a point of rest all through the stormy "Movement" days, and presented the world with a sweet and strong example of loving loyalty.

In 1825 Dr. Whately, who had left Oxford to be married and had necessarily resigned his Fellowship of Oriel, returned as Principal of S. Alban Hall, and in March appointed Newman his Vice-Principal. S. Alban Hall then occupied a very low place in the university, but Dr. Whately, with Newman's aid for a year, made it again a resort of reading-men. On the 29th of May in the same year he was ordained Priest and he administered the Holy Eucharist for the first time on the 7th of August. The

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Vice-Principalship of S. Alban Hall was resigned in 1826, along with the curacy at S. Clement's, upon Newman's appointment as one of the Tutors of Oriel. His colleagues from 1827 were Richard Hurrell Froude and Robert Isaac Wilberforce.

Richard Hurrell Froude had more of the characteristics of genius than had any other of the remarkable group of reformers which Oriel Common Room had now gathered together. He was entered at Oriel in 1821, and elected Fellow in 1826. He was a loving pupil of Keble's, and had worked honestly to conform his intractable temper to his master's ideal. He was far in advance of Newman and Pusey in regard to Church matters : his active mind would never let an idea rest that had once entered in until he had followed it to its furthest conclusions. It was once smilingly observed of him by an older, more learned and more cautious man, that "he [Froude] did not

seem to be afraid of inferences." He had recognised the strong points of the Roman system before the very thought of Rome as a recognisable quantity had entered Newman's or Pusey's head. He was a thorough reformer, and began as all reformers do not, with himself. He kept a journal in 1826-28, in which he mercilessly dissected his own motives, set down his failures and detailed the methods he employed for self-discipline, which would form amusing and morbid reading for those who consider that goodness comes by nature and without cultivation, or not at all. In considering this morbid tendency, it must in fairness be remembered that this young man of twenty-three was very much alone in his endeavour to return to the Prayer Book system of discipline; that he had the desire for praise and recognition which is so strong an appetite of his quick, alive type of genius, with every temptation to become merely a clever—as he would

himself say "flash"—young man of the world; that he also felt there was his intellectual past to be lived down; and, lastly, it is to be recollected that the diary was never intended for publication. It was altogether to his credit, and must remove the imputation of want of manliness in him, that no outsider saw anything of these struggles.

He was a keen boatman, a daring rider to hounds and had considerable acquaintance with Gothic architecture before the revival of that style in England. In person he was tall and very thin, with delicate features and penetrating grey eyes.

The friendship between Newman and Froude was at first of slow growth. Thrown together as Tutors of the same college, in discussion, in Common Room, in occasional walks, there was gradually formed an acquaintance of mind with mind which ripened into one of heart with heart. Froude, Newman thinks,

was a little shy of him at first because of his reputed "Liberalism," an opinion derived from Keble. We obtain an amusing side-light on the unsettlement of opinion at this time and upon the way in which minds were moving in the same direction, each unknown to the other. In 1823, while Newman still patronised Pusey a little, he wrote of him in his private journal, "his devotional spirit, his love of the Scriptures, his firmness and zeal, all testify to the operation of the Holy Ghost; yet I fear he is prejudiced against Thy children." Now, in 1828, Froude wrote to Keble, "Newman is a fellow I like more, the more I think of him; only, I would give a few odd pence if he were not a heretic."

The fixed point in opinion was Keble. To him the Prayer Book was a living book, in it and in the Bible, with the authority of the Church as the expounder and guardian of the Scriptures to which the Prayer Book pointed, he

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found a sufficient guide of life. Of the beauty, the humility, the steadfastness of his character, it is unnecessary to speak now — every one knows something of these from *The Christian Year*. Newman afterwards spoke of him as the Anglican counterpart of S. Philip Neri, and, indeed, in what happier words could the father of the Catholic revival in the Church of England be described than in those applied to S. Philip?

... he put from him ... authoritative speech, as David refused the armour of his king. No; he would be but an ordinary individual priest as others: and his weapons should be but unaffected humility and unpretending love. All he did was to be done by the light, and fervour, and convincing eloquence of his personal character and his easy conversation. He came to the Eternal City and he sat himself down there, and his home and his family gradually grew up around him, by the spontaneous accession of materials from without. He did not so much seek his own as draw them to him. ... And they who came remained gazing and listening, till at length, first one and then another threw off their bravery, and took his poor cassock and girdle instead: or, if they kept it, it was to put

haircloth under it, or to take on them a rule of life, while to the world they looked as before.

His playfulness and light-hearted boyishness among his pupils were so noted that to his home might be applied, as to S. Philip's room, "the agreeable nickname of the Home of Christian mirth."

Froude was the disciple who spread his master's teaching; it was he who made the Tractarian movement inevitable. He taught Newman to accept all Keble's teaching, nay, to accept more. "He taught me," says Newman, "to look with admiration towards the Church of Rome, and in the same degree to dislike the Reformation."

"The Reformation was a limb badly set," Froude once said, "it must be broken again, in order to be righted"; but *he* certainly intended that it should be reset by an Anglican doctor.

In 1827 was published *The Christian Year*. Its effect was important and immediate upon the little circle of Oriel

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men and their friends who were already disciples of Keble, in the sense that they had with his help felt their way to the temper of the book. Its influence upon religious minds at large was great at a later period ; but as yet it attracted little attention except amongst the Oxford minds which were prepared for its teaching. The instinct of genius for the thing of itself is blind, but unerring, and Newman says of the book :—

... the two main intellectual truths which it brought home to me, were the same two, which I had learned from Butler, though recast in the creative mind of my new master. The first of these was what may be called, in a large sense of the word, the Sacramental system ; that is, the doctrine that material phenomena are both the types and the instruments of real things unseen . . . and that probability is the guide of life.

The difficulty which Butler left unsolved at the point where the individual mind, having decided that on the whole the phenomena of life point to a Divine Author of life, and the conclusions from

the order of nature point to a Divine order which is behind and beyond nature, Newman considers that Keble partly met by

ascribing the firmness of assent which we give to religious doctrine, not to the probabilities which introduced it, but to the living power of faith and love which accepted it. . . . it is not merely probability which makes us intellectually certain, but probability as it is put to account by faith and love.

This Newman felt did not meet fully the difficulty ; and in his *University Sermons*, essay on *Ecclesiastical Miracles*, and *Development of Christian Doctrine*, and later in *A Grammar of Assent*, he endeavoured to lay down with accuracy the reasons by which a mind might advance logically from the region of probability to that of certainty in religious faith. He seems, however, to have overstated the difficulty. It is surely natural and logical for a man who is convinced, on the whole, of a Divine Authorship and government of the cosmos to endeavour

to communicate by prayer, mental or oral, with a Divine Person with whom his human mind may have something in common, particularly as a society which claims a Divine origin directs him to do so, and, if his mind is conscious of a response from the "player in the darkness," it is natural to become convinced of the existence of, and the possibility of a communication with, a Mind which has something in common with his own human intellect.

In 1828 Dr. Hawkins, then vicar of the Oriel living of S. Mary's, was elected Provost of Oriel, in the place of Dr. Copleston, who was consecrated to the see of Llandaff. There were three candidates for the office, the only candidate who had any likelihood of defeating Hawkins being Keble. Both Newman and Pusey supported Hawkins. They thought him more practical. Newman afterwards told how he at the time had laughingly said to another, "If we were

electing an angel, I should of course vote for Keble ; but the case is different.' To the vicariate of S. Mary's, vacated by Hawkins, Newman was instituted on the 14th of March. S. Mary's was, and is, a parish church, though most intimately connected with the university. It had been the brain of the university until Archbishop Laud transferred Congregation to his new Congregation House, and had been later, and was notably to become again, its mouth. This was a great event for Newman. He writes :—

It was to me like the feeling of spring weather after winter ; and, if I may so speak, I came out of my shell ; I remained out of it till 1841.

Littlemore, a hamlet two and a half miles south-south-east of Oxford, was an integral part of S. Mary's parish, and was served by Newman. At first his work there consisted merely of visiting, but later he built a church.

It is curious how much of the early

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portion of a life of Newman must be devoted not to him, but to others. It is only from about the date of his becoming vicar of S. Mary's that he is the Newman history knows, that he becomes detached from others who had done so much to form his mind, and shows himself to be, in any large sense, a leader of men. His predecessor, Dr. Hawkins, had introduced a Sunday afternoon sermon at S. Mary's. Newman made the afternoon sermon famous.

Who could resist the charm of that spiritual apparition, gliding in the dim afternoon light through the aisles of S. Mary's, rising into the pulpit, and then, in the most entrancing of voices, breaking the silence with words and thoughts which were a religious music,—subtle, sweet, mournful? Happy the man who in that susceptible season of youth hears such voices! They are a possession to him forever.

So wrote Matthew Arnold, whose father, Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, was ecclesiastically one of Newman's greatest opponents.

The university did not flock to hear the new vicar of S. Mary's, but, afternoon by afternoon, the most seriously intellectual men from all colleges, whether they agreed with his opinions or not, came and listened. There was no doubt about his earnestness: there were no two opinions about his grasp of the facts of life. Here, at least, was a man who saw things as they were; a man who, with a minute knowledge of the ordinary mind and heart and all the little worldly details of a young man's career, yet said boldly that all things were but dross as compared with the spiritual realities of that life. If he knew so much of intellectual and material life surely what he claimed as spiritual facts might be true also. So he led them from point to point, winning a little here and a little there, gradually forming, without the desires of a party leader, a type of disciplined character in his little circle of friends and pupils. Severely practi-

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cal these sermons were, as a rule, showing the Christian life to be no easy eclecticism, but, as of old, the narrow way — yet with compensations — the opening of the choked water-wells of the spirit; the exchange of the heart of flesh for the heart of stone. “Promising without Doing,” “Profession without Hypocrisy,” “God’s Commandments not Grievous,” — these are some of the simple subjects.

Newman had, as he says, “moved out of the shadow of that Liberalism which had hung over [his] course.” At one time it had perhaps trembled in the balance whether he should throw in his lot with the Liberals. He says : —

The truth is, I was beginning to prefer intellectual excellence to moral; I was drifting in the direction of the Liberalism of the day. I was rudely awakened from my dream at the end of 1827 by two great blows,—illness and bereavement.

The bereavement was the death of his

sister Mary. His choice was now definitely made : he had turned to Antiquity and the Fathers.

About 1830 Mr. Hugh James Rose, of Trinity College, Cambridge, Vicar of Horsham, Surrey, later Rector of Hadleigh, Suffolk, proposed that Newman should contribute a history of the principal Councils to a projected Theological Library. The book was completed under the title of *The Arians of the Fourth Century* and published in 1833. His reading for this book brought him into contact with the Church of Alexandria. Athanasius, Origen, Dionysius taught him the old message.

The broad philosophy of Clement and Origen [he writes] carried me away. . . . Some portions of their teaching, magnificent in themselves, came like music to my inward ear, as if the response to ideas, which, with little external to encourage them, I had cherished so long. These were based on the mystical or sacramental principle, and spoke of the various Economies or Dispensations of the Eternal. I understood these passages to mean that the exterior world,

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physical and historical, was but the manifestation to our senses of realities greater than itself. Nature was a parable: Scripture was an allegory: pagan literature, philosophy, and mythology, properly understood, were but a preparation for the Gospel. . . . The visible world still remains without its divine interpretation; Holy Church in her sacraments and her hierarchical appointments, will remain, even to the end of the world, after all but a symbol of those heavenly facts which fill eternity. Her mysteries are but the expressions in human language of truths to which the human mind is unequal.

It is important to notice what a strong feeling Newman had of personal intelligences in the mysteries of the Divine order of the world. At this time he held very definite views as to the ministry of angels.

I viewed them [he says] . . . as carrying on, as Scripture also implies, the Economy of the Visible World. I considered them as the real causes of motion, light, and life, and of those elementary principles of the physical universe, which, when offered in their developments to our senses, suggest to us the notion of cause and effect, and of what are called the laws of nature.

In 1829 differences of opinion began between the Provost, Dr. Hawkins, and the Tutors of Oriel as to the limits of their duties. Newman thought that a tutor might legitimately exercise direct religious influence upon pupils, that to a tutor in holy orders his intercourse with his pupils, though only in matters of secular education, was a part of the pastoral care he had undertaken when ordained, and that, if this were not so, a clergyman might not hold a tutorship. This was also Keble's view, and, therefore, that of his pupils, Froude and Wilberforce. Dr. Hawkins could not agree, and declined to recommend more pupils; and, as a consequence of the Provost's attitude, all three tutors resigned in 1832.

The Arians of the Fourth Century had entailed a good deal of application and hard work which had an ill effect upon Newman's health so that he was easily induced to join Archdeacon Froude and

his son Hurrell upon a trip to the Mediterranean. They left Falmouth on the 8th of December, 1832, and visited Gibraltar,—“the first foreign land I ever put foot on,”—Malta,—where they spent Christmas Day “in an incessant row, taking in coals,”—Zante, Corfu and the Greek Archipelago, and, finally, Italy. Newman’s mind was set upon events in England which for the Church were very critical ; the rising tide of Liberalism seemed about to overwhelm her ; her distinctive personality, her government, even her creeds, seemed in danger of being swept away. Men’s minds were so filled with the new ideas, which led up to the Reform Bill, that they had become careless of old landmarks : their sense of perspective seemed gone.

The idea that he had a mission formed and grew upon him. Although they kept free of Catholics and only attended one Roman service—at the Sistine, for the sake of the music—they took advan-

tage of an introduction to Monsignor (afterwards Cardinal) Wiseman to ascertain the ultimate points at issue between Rome and England. Wiseman, upon their taking leave, expressed a hope that they might again visit Rome, to which Newman gravely replied, "We have a work to do in England." At Rome he parted from his friends, and struck into Sicily, where he fell ill of a fever at Leonforte. The idea of his mission strengthened. He said to his servant, who believed him to be dying, "I shall not die; for I have not sinned against light, I have not sinned against light." At Castro-Giovanni he was ill for three weeks. On the day he left for Palermo on his way homewards, he sat down on his bed, and began to sob violently. His servant asked him what ailed him—he could only reply, "I have a work to do in England."

At Palermo he was detained three weeks, and was soothed by visiting the

churches, though he did not attend services. He makes the astonishing statement, "I knew nothing of the Presence of the Blessed Sacrament there." Astonishing, because it would seem impossible for a person of his keen observation not to discern that Presence even by mere outward signs and the honour paid It, as Catholics moved about the churches,—astonishing, also, that his mind had never moved along the line of thought suggested by that difference between the Churches of Rome and England.

He got away in an orange boat bound for Marseilles, and, while becalmed in the Straits of Bonifacio, composed the lines, perhaps the most widely known of all his written words, "Lead, kindly Light."

If he had "fierce thoughts against the Liberals," to quote his own phrase, he was also "fierce" against Rome. He disliked her practical system extremely,

and what little he saw of it on the Continent increased this feeling of repulsion. Of Rome as a theoretical system he seems yet to have known little and cared still less. Froude confesses of himself that he came back "a better Englishman," convinced that the English Church was "nearest in theory right." On the voyage, with a quaint exactness, they directed their prayers to the east with the aid of a compass on the table before them, so that, as the steamer pitched or rolled or altered her course, their devotions might be maintained not towards Rome, but towards Jerusalem.

Newman's references in the verses of this time to Rome are of Rome as a fallen church ; even at Palermo, where she had helped him, he speaks of her as "a foe."

I almost fainted from the long delay,
That tangles me within this languid bay,
When comes a foe, my wounds with oil and
wine to tend.

After further delays on the homeward

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journey he reached England on Tuesday, 9th of July, 1833. On the following Sunday Keble preached the Assize Sermon from the pulpit of S. Mary's on "National Apostasy." Newman "ever considered and kept the day, as the start of the religious movement of 1833."

IV.

It is necessary to endeavour to realise the feelings of this little circle of Oriel men who had arrived at a more or less definite view on Church Reform, and to see the condition of affairs in England which had forced them, as they conceived their duty, to oppose the tide of popular feeling and to formulate the views they held to be true.

The Reform Bill was passed. There was in the air a general desire to reform everything, without any very definite views as to the lines upon which reforms were to be made. The general Liberal idea was comprehension : barriers of all kinds were to be hewn down. Dissenters from without clamoured for reform of the Church ; a not inconsiderable party from within desired to throw wide open her doors. Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, whose opinions had great weight, considered that comprehension alone could save the

Establishment, which did so much to maintain practical righteousness in the nation, from extinction. He proposed that all sects should be united by Act of Parliament with the Church of England, whose doctrines were to be made elastic enough to include all but Jews, Unitarians and Roman Catholics. In the eyes of the nation at large the Church of England was a branch of the Civil Service.

The teaching of Wesley, who nearly a century before had "delivered his soul" from the pulpit of St. Mary's, had worked itself out as a thinkable system — that earnest and righteous disproportion of the Faith had, by its insistence upon a few clauses of the creed to the exclusion of the rest, and still more by its vivid preaching of one set of scriptural ideas and the ignoring of others held to be of less importance, contributed to extinguish in the national mind the very conception of a visible Church.

“I believe in one Catholic and Apostolic Church” had come to mean, when it conveyed any meaning at all, a belief in some vague mystical body of the “justified,” intangible to the reason, unprovable by the ordinary rules of evidence.

To Keble, who had inherited a High Church tradition, the Church meant something very different from that: Newman and Pusey knew that “principles of interpretation of (Scripture), like arguments, must be applied consistently.” For Froude there could be only one Church, that which had descended by the imposition of hands in an unbroken line from the Divine Founder Himself, to which the Prayer Book pointed. Keble had almost surprised the Church in his *Christian Year* by taking her at her word, and speaking always of her as though she were incontestably a Divine society, and her bishops the representatives of the apostles. These beliefs were not new, but

they had been obscured by a late tradition. The Prayer Book professed to be modelled upon Christian Antiquity—to the popular mind, Christian Antiquity, in the Prayer Book sense, had been outlived. The older tradition had, however, always been maintained side by side with the new, in country parishes by many quiet clergymen, here and there, in the worst times, upon the bench of bishops, in the chair of S. Augustine itself. “I think that the only *τόπος* now is ‘the ancient Church of England,’ and, as an explanation of what one means, ‘Charles the First and the Non-jurors,’ ” wrote Froude. Keble never had any other conception of the Church; Froude had come to it through the teaching of Keble and the Prayer Book; Newman, through these and the study of antiquity.

On the 30th of July, 1833, the third reading of Lord Stanley’s Irish Church Temporalities Bill, by which ten of the Irish bishoprics were suppressed, passed

the House of Lords. It seemed evident that the dreaded work of destruction was close at hand. Before Newman had reached England the anti-Liberal movement from within the Church of England had already begun. In midsummer, 1833, H. J. Rose, of Trinity College, Cambridge, invited the persons principally interested in this defence of Church principles, as they conceived them, to Hadleigh to discuss methods of work, the conference lasting nearly a week. Meetings held at Oriel with the same intention resulted in the formation of "The Association of the Friends of the Church."

Newman had returned from the Mediterranean in robust health: his mind was settled and hope high. He had no doubt about the Anglican position built upon the Prayer Book, in its turn founded upon the rock of antiquity and undivided tradition; and his mind grasped the splendid possibilities of a

living Church so founded and so maintained. He threw himself into the work of propaganda, visiting country clergymen, writing to newspapers, securing as strong a rally as possible. He sought for a common ground in love of the Church and opposition to innovation, and therefore did not confine his visits to High Churchmen, but called wherever he hoped to secure adhesion to the first principles of the movement. The time was ripe for action; these efforts met with an instantaneous response throughout the country from churchmen who felt how seriously their principles were in danger; friends sprang from the heath as did the clansmen in *The Lady of the Lake*, so Pusey said.

It has already been pointed out how strong was Newman's feeling for personality, and his instincts were now firmly against committees and boards of "safe men." Furthermore, both he and Keble disliked "Associations," be-

cause they thought that a body should not be formed for action upon a large scale without episcopal sanction. He claimed personal liberty; and his idea was that bold steps should be taken, such steps as could hardly be expected of persons with responsible positions in the Church. He accordingly started early in September a series of *Tracts for the Times* "out of [his] own head." They were quite short, price 1*d.* or 2*d.*, some of them not more than four octavo pages, and were devoted to statements explaining the Church's system and order. He himself contributed the first three, while later tracts were furnished by Keble, Bowden, Hurrell Froude and others. Their object was to sound a clear note, to dispel mistiness, to show clearly what the English Church claimed to be, and what primitive truth was. They exhorted readers to choose their side between the ancient English Church and Latitudinarianism, declaring that in

a time of acute crisis it was not possible to be neutral. They were the utterances of individual minds, each person being responsible for his own expression under Newman's general editorship. This was going too fast for the "Friends of the Church"; they protested and wished the tracts to be discontinued. Newman himself would have complied, but Froude and Keble urged him not to do so and he held by their advice. Thus the little body of Tractarians became distinct from the main body of their sympathisers, and pushed out as skirmishers along the line of advance. In December the little party, getting away into the desert, became an army. Its artillery had arrived. The Rev. E. B. Pusey, of Christ Church, His Majesty's Professor of Hebrew, who had recently completed his long (1828-33) labours upon a catalogue of Arabic manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, contributed, over his initials, a tract

entitled *Thoughts on the Benefits of the System of Fasting enjoined by our Church*, to the series of *Tracts for the Times*. He at once, as Newman said, gave to the movement "a position and a name."

Pusey was, to use the common expression, a host in himself ; he was able to give a name, a form, and a personality, to what was without him a sort of mob.

His arrival also altered the character of the tracts : they became more responsible, more learned and more lengthy.

The first skirmish between the "dogmatic principle" and "Liberalism" was fought in 1834-35, on the subject of the proposed abolition of subscription to the Articles required from undergraduates. A vast number of papers were printed on the subject, and this method of issuing replies and counter-replies hot from smoking presses was one that became very familiar in later university controversies. Finally, largely

through the influence of Pusey (with the active support of Newman), it was decided in May, 1835, that no change should be made.

During the spring and summer of 1835 Newman was engaged upon two pieces of work : one was the building of a chapel at Littlemore ; the other, a series of lectures delivered at S. Mary's on Wednesday afternoons. The building scheme went merrily, so that on September 22, 1836, the consecration by Bishop Bagot took place, with "a profusion of bright flowers, in bunches, all about the chapel." The week-day lectures were delivered in Adam de Brome's chapel, originally the chapel of "Our Lady of Littlemore," situated on the north side of S. Mary's, and the oldest part of the church, where is the tomb of Adam de Brome, the founder of Oriel. *The Prophetical Office of the Church viewed relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism* was the cumbrous title of the work

published in 1837, upon which Newman had laboured for three years, 1834–36, and the substance of which had been delivered in these week-day lectures. In them Newman strove to define clearly to himself and to others the position of the true Church,—by implication the Anglican Church. This Church did not exist as a living, breathing body—the communion to which he belonged only too painfully did not represent this ideal—but, nevertheless, he believed that in her formularies, in her essential constitution, in her foundation upon antiquity, even as expressed from time to time by the mouth of her best divines, the Anglican Church could be shown to possess the impeccable and indestructible spirit which marked her as the Bride of Christ. He felt that there would be an intellectual cowardice in not finding a basis in reason for his belief that the Anglican Church was the Church of the apostles and of the

apostles' Master. He therefore strove to show clearly this basis founded upon dogma, the sacramental system and anti-Romanism.

I wanted [he says] to bring out in a substantive form a living Church of England, in a position proper to herself, and founded on distinct principles, so far as paper could do it, as far as earnestly preaching it and influencing others towards it, could tend to make it a fact.

It will be evident that he was now face to face with the Roman controversy. There is much in common between the Churches of Rome and England as any one who has ever considered the question knows; as a pioneer, he was now intellectually to draw the line between them: he then thought that "to confuse the two together is impossible, and that the Anglican can be as little said to tend to the Roman, as the Roman to the Anglican." This talk, often accompanied by considerable vigour of language, was very startling to a

number of people who had considered themselves hitherto to be good Churchmen. To the Liberals it was a reversal of their work, a harking back to principles which they considered exploded: to the political dissenters it was a new and a more audacious claim advanced by their old enemy, the Church. It was a claim which passed by the State and State aid,—a claim to a divine foundation and supernatural life. So the cry of Popery was raised: some people at Oxford thought that Mr. Newman and Mr. Keble of Oriel, and Mr. Pusey of Christ Church, were posting off to Rome.

V.

IN the autumn of 1835 appeared Pusey's tract, *Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism*. It consisted of three small-type parts, occupying about three hundred pages in all, and formed Nos. 67, 68 and 69 of the *Tracts for the Times*. Although Pusey had, as early as 1833, contributed a signed tract upon *Fasting*, and had been generally in sympathy with the movement, he was not intimately connected with it until the publication of *Baptism* now definitely associated him with the Tractarians in the public mind. Since his was the only name known to a wide public, the word "Puseyite" came to be employed as a nickname for writers of the tracts.

Dr. Burton, Regius Professor of Divinity, died in January, 1836 ; and it became necessary to appoint his successor. On the recommendation of Archbishop Whately (of Dublin) and Bishop Cop-

leston, both Oriel men, the names at first selected, amongst which were those of Pusey, Newman and Keble, were passed over, and that of Dr. Hampden, the Professor of Moral Philosophy, suggested. In 1832, Hampden had preached the Bampton Lectures on "The Scholastic Philosophy considered in its relation to Christian Theology." These proceeded much upon the lines of Blanco White's reasoning, and unfolded the theory that the doctrines of the Church of later than apostolic times, including the creeds, were accretions of more or less human inventions, and blendings of pagan ideas with the new aspirations of pure Christianity. The creeds, therefore, and much of the Prayer Book doctrine (especially the Articles), could not, and ought not, to have a binding authority upon the intellects of modern men, who were entitled, in the same way as their framers, to formulate their own guesses after truth, or to reject much of

the documentary teaching for a return to purer original ideas. It is doubtful whether Hampden really meant as much as this, but these seemed to be the only logical conclusions from his statements.

Oxford at this time was a Church University. Its professors were Churchmen, and all its undergraduates subscribed to the Articles. Though their views may have been loose, and held with great variation between mind and mind, still they included some notion of a Church having a measure of authority, and adhering to something more than the mere letter of Scripture. It seemed a serious thing for the principal theological chair in a Church University to be occupied by a teacher with such free views on semi-fundamentals. To Newman and Pusey, who had formed opinions of the authority of the Church much in advance of those generally held, it seemed more serious still. In a word, the new or revived forces of Dogmatic

Theology and Noetic Philosophy were contending for the university. A good deal has been written in connection with this and later Oxford controversies, and the word "persecution" has been freely used. On the whole, perhaps the less said about persecution the better. When the issue was so clear on both sides it would not have been an evidence of toleration, but of intellectual incompetence, if men had not ranged themselves. The mere issue is not open to criticism, granting equal honesty on both sides: only the methods of controversy, the influence or exhibition of personal feeling, and so on, can be subjected to judicial treatment. Blanco White, who saw much more clearly than Dr. Hampden the issues of a line of argument, had been driven by his latest "mental squall" to find anchorage in the harbour of Unitarianism, and this development had its effect in strengthening the opposition of the dogmatic school.

Newman rapidly prepared a pamphlet, *Elucidations of Dr. Hampden's Theological Statements*, in which he sought to show by a series of extracts from the Bampton Lectures to what unorthodox conclusions Hampden's arguments logically led. In spite, however, of many protests, Dr. Hampden was gazetted to the chair of Regius Professor of Divinity on February 17. Eventually, it was decided in Convocation, which did not wish to identify the university with Dr. Hampden's teaching, to suspend him from exercising the veto vested in the Divinity Professorship for the appointment of Select Preachers, and to deprive him of his consultative voice in the case of Delated Sermons, *i.e.*, of sermons the orthodoxy of which was doubted and challenged.

This year, 1836, was an important one in Newman's life. His mother, who had laid the foundation stone in 1835, did not live to see his church at Littlemore

completed; she died May 17, and was buried within the chancel rails of S. Mary's. Latterly, though suffering no diminution of her love and trust in him, she had not been able to follow her son all the way in his theological conclusions. In *Loss and Gain*, Newman has written a touching description of the spiritual separation of mother and son, which may have had some foundation in his own experience. Less than three months earlier the greatest formative influence of his life passed away in the death of his friend, Richard Hurrell Froude:—"one of the acutest and clearest and deepest men in the memory of man," so Newman described him.

Newman's influence in the university was now great. "It was almost as if some Ambrose or Augustine of elder days had reappeared," says Principal Shairp. The Sunday afternoon sermons at S. Mary's continued. He had, in the *Prophetical Office*, in the *Tracts*, in various

pamphlets, put before all who cared for such things a clear definition of the Church ; of a Church not insular, but catholic ; not a creature of the State and of time, but of Divine origin, and maintained in life by the Spirit of the Eternal ; not starving the soul and mind, but providing satisfaction for all her children's needs. Beyond this public influence was the winning power of his personality. As a Tutor of Oriel, he had wished to give, and did give until the Provost interposed, much attention to the development of individual minds. His idea was a system of small classes for the best men, "principally with their own tutors quite familiarly and chatingly." A number of young men who had been through his hands remained his devoted friends ; going down after taking their degrees, they spread his principles among their own circles, and these principles had met with a wonderful response

throughout the country and beyond it, as well as with bitter opposition. One of the most marked characteristics of the new school was its dislike to donishness, to pretence, to clerical professionalism. "I wish there was less of fudge and humbug everywhere, one might shovel off cart-loads from this place [Oxford], and not miss it." So said Sheffield in *Loss and Gain*, and so said Newman, Keble and Froude.

In person, John Henry Newman was slight, thin and rather tall. His head has been compared to that of Julius Cæsar—"the forehead, the shape of the ears and nose, were almost the same." The lower lip, as shown in all his portraits, protrudes a little beyond the upper. The likeness to the Roman emperor is best seen in the bust by Westmacott. He walked quickly, as though always on an errand, carrying his head and shoulders slightly bent forward.

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His eyes were bluish-grey, large and shining : they are described as piercing, and as conveying an impression of spiritual power.

VI.

IN August, 1833, Bishop Bagot, of Oxford, referred to the *Tracts* in his charge. While he considered that such things as keeping fast and festival were highly desirable, he was of opinion that the *Tracts* contained expressions which might be injurious to other minds. This Newman took much to heart; and he wrote to the Bishop, offering to stop the series.

Newman had a peculiar and entirely personal theory about bishops. Here are his own words:—

I did not care much for the Bench of Bishops, except as they might be the voice of my Church: nor should I have cared much for a Provincial Council; nor for a Diocesan Synod, presided over by my Bishop; all these matters seemed to me to be *jure ecclesiastico*, but what to me was *jure Divino* was the voice of my Bishop in his own person. My own Bishop was my Pope: I knew no other; the successor of the Apostles, the vicar of Christ. . . . A Bishop's lightest word *ex cathedra* is heavy, . . . A Bishop's word is an act . . . he cannot criticise, but commands only.

This seems a complete reversal of the Catholic position, since it gives to the voice of the individual Bishop a greater authority than to the utterance of the Church. It was one of the peculiarities of Newman's mind, and it induces in his readers a pause of surprise, similar to that occasioned by the statement concerning his ignorance of the presence of the Reserved Sacrament in Roman churches.

Newman had already seen clearly that the Roman contentions must be faced squarely. Roman controversialists recognised it, too, and asked, "How can you claim to be a Church and yet reject us?" Newman's reply was, in effect: "Elsewhere we do not reject you, however much we may think you in error. Here in England you set up altar against altar, and are intruders and schismatics." His habit of "collecting doubts as strongly as they can be put" when they told against him, as well as when

they were in his favour, prejudiced neutrals against him; while his arguments, though still sufficient for himself, did not satisfy the younger men of his school. These men had "cut into the original Movement at an angle," and had not followed it from the first. Newman maintained that between the ancient faith (represented to his mind by the Anglican) and Rome, there was a deep trench; the Roman country and the Anglican marched at either side, but might be extended forever without meeting. His younger friends thought the trench was not very wide, and might be cleared at a leap; indeed, they were rather inclined to fill it up altogether.

In June, 1839, Newman began to study the history of the Monophysites, an heretical sect of the fifth century which denied the union of the two natures in Christ. As he read on, he became "seriously alarmed," he says:—

My stronghold was Antiquity; now here, in the middle of the fifth century, I found, as it seemed to me, Christendom of the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries reflected. I saw my face in that mirror, and I was a Monophysite. The Church of the *Via Media* was in the position of the Oriental communion, Rome was, where she now is; and the Protestants were the Eutychians.

Almost immediately following this he read an article in the *Dublin Review* by Dr. Wiseman, on "The Anglican Claim," in which was discussed the similarity of the Donatist and the Anglican positions. Newman "did not see much in" this application until he re-read the sentence quoted from S. Augustine which was pointed out to him by a friend,—*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*. These words seemed to him to sum up the judgments of the Church.

The deliberate judgment, in which the whole Church at length rests and acquiesces, is an infallible prescription and a final sentence against such portions of it as protest and secede. . . . By those great words . . . the theory of the *Via Media* was absolutely pulverised. . . . The

heavens had opened and closed again. The thought for the moment had been, "The Church of Rome will be found right after all"; and then it had vanished. My old convictions remained as before. [And elsewhere he said] I have had the first real hit from Romanism . . . it has given me a stomach-ache.

He "determined to be guided, not by imagination, but by reason"; to go on with his parish work as though nothing had happened; to live the thought down to its proper proportion and place among the clash and contrasts of real life. How greatly the thought might influence him may be gauged from past experience of his mind: it came as a conviction, a new application of the old idea; — the majestic Leo, the interpreter of the divine riddle; the voice of a person, S. Augustine, uttering a judgment which the whole world, rightly judging because it had no direct immediate interest, did but emphasise and confirm. First the imagination, then the orderly, methodical working of the intellect,

then the conclusion. It was a familiar method: the "little leaven" that might "leaven the whole lump," the idea entering the door of the imagination which might fill the whole house.

He left the charge of S. Mary's almost entirely to a curate, and retired gradually to Littlemore, though he did not altogether take up his residence there until 1842. The questions of the younger men were insistent and embarrassing: they pressed conclusions on him most difficult for him to answer satisfactorily with a doubt in his own mind which, while it was an unconfirmed doubt, it would be criminal to express. He writes to F. Rogers (afterwards Lord Blachford) in September, 1839:—

At this moment we have sprung a leak; and the worst of it is that those sharp fellows, Ward, Stanley, & Co., will not let one go to sleep upon it.

He now mistrusted his own judgment,

and would not give advice even to his oldest friend, Bowden. He settled down happily to parish work, serving his church of S. Mary and S. Nicholas, — Mary, the mother of the Lord, Nicholas, patron of children, — put the school in order, “rummaged out” an old violin and led the children whom he was training for his choir, “between twenty and thirty great and little in the school-room,” lectured “against un-combed hair and dirty faces and hands,” though “not deep in the philosophy of school-girl tidiness,” and set the girls to knit stockings. It was the nearest approach in his life to the labours of a parish priest, work which Keble loved so well. His doubts passed away ; he felt confirmed in his place in the English Church. On the anniversary of Easter, April 18, 1840, he wrote : —

Indeed we are all so happy that we are afraid of being too happy. We have got some roses, wall-flowers, and sweet-brier, and the chapel

smells as if to remind one of the Holy Sepulchre.

He was able to indulge simply two of his old loves, for music and for flowers. In the old days he and Blanco White had played together, Newman drawing from his violin "long rich notes with a steady hand." He bought at Littlemore "ten acres of ground and began planting." This was an application of a scheme which he had discussed long before with Froude of forming a college for unmarried priests and students. With this object he began to make alterations and additions to a row of cottages and stables situated in the angle of two village roads.

It has already been pointed out that a considerable infusion of new blood had come to the Tractarian party, and that these younger adherents were getting somewhat out of hand. The series of *Plain Sermons* was planned to induce moderation and cohesion in the party.

The most conspicuous of these younger men was W. G. Ward, Fellow of Balliol. It has been wisely said that he was, in some ways, the Froude of the later movement: Froude as he might have been without Keble's influence and his own High Anglican training. Mr. Ward was the most delightful of men; he walked about Oxford airily cutting his own intellectual knots in the public view, and getting everybody else's into a worse tangle. He propounded the most startling and impossible of enigmas with the sweetest of innocent smiles, as though he merely asked whether you preferred your bread and butter thick or thin, whether the Oriel teapot had not been an improvement upon wine. His flights from grave to gay, and his astounding grasp of both these aspects of life, were the admiration of his friends. It must not, however, be supposed that he was not in earnest: he had for a time been under the influence

of Arnold whose system had not been able to satisfy Ward's desire for intellectual consistency. He became an enthusiastic though troublesome disciple of Newman.

The statements of the Articles presented the greatest difficulties to the minds of these young men. "We admit," said they, "that the doctrines of the Prayer Book are Catholic; but the Articles? Are they not hopelessly Protestant?" Newman did not think so; he knew that they must be interpreted historically, giving to the words used their contemporary meaning; that they were drawn up in a time of crisis, and were "articles of peace." Whatever might or might not be the intention of their individual framers, or any one or more of such individual framers, his duty was not to persons, but to the Catholic Faith. The whole question was, Can a man sign them and remain Catholic (*i.e.*, Apostolical); have they com-

mitted him to anything he may not hold as a Catholic?

Newman's fear at this time was not that there would be individual stragglers to Rome, but that the widening differences, not only between the Catholic and Protestant parties — Apostolics and Peculiars, as they were called at Oxford — but in the Catholic party itself, would lead to schism in the Church of England. It was doubtful how great an infusion of Catholic doctrine the Church could assimilate; the time was like the anxious period during the testing of a cannon, it remained to be seen whether the gun would burst under the operation. With a view, then, of helping the younger school — not experimentally as regards his own views, which were already settled — he drew up a treatise entitled *Remarks on certain Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles*. This appeared as No. 90 of the *Tracts for the Times* on Saturday, February 27, 1841.

It insisted upon "the literal and grammatical interpretation" of the Articles in the light of contemporary language, of contemporary events and of contemporary practices. The tract dealt with sixteen of the Articles which were held in some quarters to be uncatholic. The author stated, first, that they were Catholic: to say the least of them, they were, in their grammatical sense, capable of a Catholic meaning; secondly, that their appeal was to the Catholic teaching of the undivided Church, and this was made plain by their recommendation of the two Books of Homilies (Article XXXV.) which inculcated Catholic doctrine; thirdly, that, as regards Rome, "Catholic teaching was not condemned," "dominant errors were," whilst, of formal dogmas, some were condemned and some were not, and it was necessary to distinguish between these. It was further pointed out that the Decrees of the Council of Trent, which represented the

authoritative statements of the reforming Council of the Roman Church, just as the Prayer Book and the Articles represented the authoritative reforming statements of the English Church, were not promulgated at the time the Articles were drawn up, and, therefore, in the nature of the case, the Articles could not be directed against the Decrees of Trent.

The tract was greeted, first in Oxford and then throughout the country, with an outcry of dissent for which Newman was unprepared. His statements merely represented, allowing for individual inaccuracies or illustrations of a minor nature, what the Catholic party in the English Church had long taught. The appeal of the English Church was to antiquity; to deny antiquity, to reject the authority of the undivided Church, was to destroy the foundation upon which she was built. The first active opposition in Oxford took the

form of a letter signed by four senior Tutors, addressed to the editor of the *Tracts*, protesting against the method of interpretation, and calling for the name of the author. The matter was brought before the Hebdomadal Board (consisting of the Heads of Houses and Colleges), which met on March 10, but did not decide anything. Newman's friends rallied to him; Keble and Pusey both wrote to the Vice-Chancellor in support of the tract. The Board met again on the 12th, and decided by a majority of nineteen to two to censure the tract. Pusey asked, through the Provost of Oriel, that judgment might be delayed until Newman had published a reply which was in preparation, and Newman himself wrote to the same effect. The Board, by a large majority, decided not to wait for the defence, but proceeded to censure the tract on March 15, and the terms of censure were published on the following day. This decision de-

clared that the modes of interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles suggested by the tract evaded rather than explained their sense, and were inconsistent with the Statutes of the University. Newman avowed the authorship of the tract, and within twelve hours of the publication of the censure issued his defence. This was followed by a second edition of *Tract 90* which made clear some matters which had been misunderstood by the Tutors and the Board. Bishop Bagot began a triangular correspondence with Newman and Pusey, marked by the greatest kindness and consideration on his part, and the most conspicuous dutifulness and submission, allied to unalterable firmness as regards doctrine, on theirs. Finally, it was arranged for the peace of the Church that the *Tracts* should be discontinued, without any recantation on the part of Newman, or censure on that of the Bishop.

Newman's views concerning the rulers

of the Church being what they were it will be understood how distressing any difference of opinion between his Bishop and himself must have been. The decision of the Hebdomadal Board, though not ratified by Convocation, and, therefore, carrying little real weight, was, nevertheless, a condemnation of his teaching by those in authority at Oxford, and was felt by him very keenly. The charge of dishonesty was the hardest to bear. He felt that his place in the movement was gone. He had few or none of the attributes of a popular leader. He could not deal with men collectively; he would not force his opinions upon others; he detested everything that savoured of the demagogue. "I cannot," he wrote, "be a demagogue or a *quasi*-schismatic." He was also distrustful of himself in times of crisis; not distrustful of his main views, but of his particular way of putting them before himself and others. He felt

that his method might not be the best or the final one, "and therefore soon [began] to suspect everything he did, so as to have no heart and little power to do anything at all." His mother had written to him as early as 1822, "Your fault is a want of self-confidence and a dissatisfaction with yourself," and with the severity of self-criticism he had later recorded, "I am indolently distrustful of my own judgment in little matters, and like to be under orders." He writes in the *Apologia* of the time immediately following the decision of the Hebdomadal Board : —

It was simply an impossibility that I could say anything henceforth to good effect, when I had been posted up by the marshal on the but-tery-hatch of every College of my University, after the manner of discommoded pastry-cooks.

How could he, indeed, being Newman? Had he been a leader of men in general, it would have been very possible, indeed. He remained, however,

fairly confident. The Board of Heads of Houses was not the Church ; his own Bishop had not censured the *Tracts* ; it remained to be seen what the Church would do. Would she reject the Catholic interpretation from her system as foreign poison, or would she assimilate it as native food ? He was not to be kept long in suspense. During 1841 and 1842 twelve Bishops (including, finally, his own) condemned the teaching of *Tract 90* more or less strongly in the charges to their clergy. This looked strikingly like a consensus of opinion on the subject. It seemed that the Bishops were selling their birthright of the divine charity for the pottage of respectable public opinion.

Nor was this all. In the summer of 1841 it was proposed by M. Bunsen on behalf of Prussia that a bishopric should be established in Jerusalem, the nomination to which should be made alternately by England and Prussia. The bishop

was to have spiritual jurisdiction over English Churchmen and German Protestants settled there, as well as over any others who cared to submit themselves to him. This involved two principles ; firstly, it would destroy the territorial idea of the Catholic Church,—“if England could be in Palestine, Rome might be in England”—and, secondly, no guarantees were to be exacted that adherents from heretical sects should renounce their tenets. It seemed that not only did the English Church refuse Catholic views, but that she accepted non-Catholic doctrine.

There was still another cause for unsettlement. In 1841 Newman had put present controversy from his mind and was engaged upon a metaphysical subject, the translation of S. Athanasius, which was to form a portion of the *Oxford Library of Fathers*, begun in 1836 under the joint editorship of Keble, Pusey and himself. As he worked on

through the Arian history the old thought, the old almost conviction, which had entered his imagination when he read of the Monophysites returned. It was this—"The pure Arians were the Protestants, the semi-Arians were the Anglicans, and . . . Rome now was what it was then." To maintain the *Via Media* was to maintain a heresy.

VII.

IN February, 1842, Newman retired wholly to Littlemore, serving the chapel there, though preaching still at S. Mary's. A few friends joined him later : there was no idea in any of their minds of leaving the Church of England, but they were perplexed at the course of events, perplexed as to the issues of their own system.

They retired to their Torres Vedras to survey the field and to intrench. "Christ is asleep in the ship," wrote Newman, but to his mind the English Church was still the ship which carried the Lord. Whispers arose, rumours took shape : "Newman had founded a monastery" : "was already a Catholic." The Bishop was appealed to. He wrote, kindly as ever, to give the person concerned an opportunity of denying the charges. Newman had no difficulty in convincing him of the falseness of the

accusation. Still, all these pin-pricks had some effect : if every one thought his place was in the Roman Church might not every one be right? *Securus judicat orbis terrarum.*

The idea of a church, great, stately, wide, embracing the whole world, knowing its own mind and speaking with certain voice grew and dominated his imagination. No : she had not sanctity, he could not turn to her. The English Church, at least, had that note ; it might be an extraordinary, uncovenanted grace which was extended to her, still she had her Lord's presence. He would remain in the ship where the Lord lay sleeping ; the waves and the tumult of waters could not engulf her, nor the sound of waters pass over her. The attraction towards Rome might be induced by some wrong in himself : the suggestion might even be from below. He would wait, "prove all things, hold fast that which was good."

On May 14, 1843, the storm reached Dr. Pusey. A sermon preached in Christ Church on that day, on "The Holy Eucharist: A Comfort to the Penitent," was delated to the Vice-Chancellor by Dr. Faussett, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. A Board, consisting of six Doctors of Divinity, met, and decided that Dr. Pusey "had preached certain things which were either dissonant from or contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England." It was not publicly stated what these "certain things" were, nor was Dr. Pusey heard in his own defence. On June 2 he was, by the sentence of the Board, suspended from preaching in the university for two years.

Newman felt himself no longer able to direct others. Indeed, he became more and more convinced of this as evidence after evidence seemed to point to the fact that the Anglican was no true Church. Accordingly, on Septem-

ber 18, after a sleepless night, contemplating no more than retirement into lay communion, he resigned the living of S. Mary's before a notary. He had considered this step as far back as October, 1840, but Keble had dissuaded him. On September 24 he preached his last sermon within its walls. September 25 was in the octave of the seventh anniversary of the consecration of Littlemore chapel. The little Gothic church was again gay with flowers, but to the friends from Oxford who filled the building it seemed decked with blossoms as for a funeral. Newman's constant friend, Pusey, was by his side, intensely grieved at the course things were taking, intensely loyal in his faith in Newman, in his desire that he should follow the guiding of the Light, even though it separated them for ever. Pusey celebrated the Eucharist, and "could hardly help mingling sorrow with even that Feast," entering with a fresh experience

into the mystery of the sacrifice he commemorated, as, with tears, he handed the Elements to weeping friends. When Newman entered the pulpit it is recorded that an awe-struck silence broken by sobs settled upon the church, as the familiar voice spoke to them for the last time of the Church, their Mother, and of her children who had sought to be "repairers of the breach, restorers of paths to dwell in."

O my mother, whence is this unto thee, that thou hast good things poured upon thee and canst not keep them, and bearest children, yet darest not own them? why hast thou not the skill to use their services, nor the heart to rejoice in their love? how is it that whatever is generous in purpose, and tender or deep in devotion, thy flower and thy promise, falls from thy bosom and finds no home within thine arms? Who hath put this note upon thee, to have "a miscarrying womb, and dry breasts," to be strange to thine own flesh, and thine eye cruel towards thy little ones? Thine own offspring, the fruit of thy womb, who love thee and would toil for thee, thou dost gaze upon with fear, as though a portent, or thou dost

loathe as an offence;—at best thou dost but endure, as if they had no claim but on thy patience, self-possession, and vigilance, to be rid of them as easily as thou mayest. Thou makest them “stand all the day idle,” as the very condition of thy bearing with them; or thou biddest them begone, where they will be more welcome; or thou sellest them for naught to the stranger that passes by. And what wilt thou do in the end thereof?

On October 15 Newman celebrated for the last time in S. Mary’s. In the summer of 1828, at the first weekly communion, a few days after his ordination, Pusey had assisted as deacon : at this last celebration he again gave the Cup, desiring that, as they had begun, so might they end together.

On November 24 he wrote:—

As far as I can make out I am in the state of mind which divines call *indifferentia*, inculcating it as a duty to be set on nothing, but to be willing to take whatever Providence wills.

In February, 1843, he took the significant step of retracting in the *Conservative Journal* “all the hard things” he

had said on the authority of Anglican divines against the Church of Rome. The importance of this may be realised by remembering how persistent had been the idea in his mind that Rome was anti-Christ, and that he had earlier adopted the argument of Bernard Gilpin, that Protestants "were *not able* to give any *firm and solid* reason of the separation [from Rome] besides this, to wit, that the Pope is anti-Christ."

Events were moving quickly in Oxford. The younger and extreme school went their own way: their natural leaders, Newman and Pusey, who might have restrained them, had been condemned: silence brooded over their high places. The voice of the intellect had ceased at S. Mary's, the voice of the heart was silenced at the shrine of S. Frideswald.

Convocation had condemned W. G. Ward's book, *The Ideal of a Christian Church*,—in which he had pointed out the failures of the English, and spoken

of the greater life in the Roman, communion,—as containing passages utterly inconsistent with the Thirty-nine Articles, and, after hearing his defence, degraded him from his academical degrees. A third proposal that *Tract 90* should be censured was vetoed by the Proctors. The rising liberal school in Oxford, headed by the Rev. A. P. Stanley, as yet few in numbers, did what was possible to oppose this action of Convocation. Newman made no attempt to defend himself: he was too sure that he was rejected, and was weary and broken. “These ecclesiastical movements” had ceased to trouble him. In this year and in the following Ward and many others passed over to Rome. Still, Newman made no sign: he could not restrain others from seeking port, but he himself yet remained inert. He had, he felt, been greatly deceived once, and he would not run any risk of being deceived again. The darkness of the Anglican

day had almost covered him, but though he wrote, "My days are gone like a shadow, and I am withered like grass," he still remembered to

Beware of desperate steps. The darkest day,
Live till to-morrow, will have passed away.

In September, J. W. Bowden, Newman's undergraduate friend, with whom he had maintained a constant correspondence, died — "in losing him," he said, "I seem to lose Oxford." Newman was with him at the end. He hoped that his friend's death, confident in the rites of the English Church, would bring him light for his own way. It "left [him] still dark as to what the way of truth was": neither friend dead nor friends living could pass within the circle of his solitary struggle with the Unseen, nor ease that "literal pain in and about [the] heart" which he endured when he thought of what the issue might mean to himself, and to those

others who had borne with him the heat of the day, his brothers so long in affection and in faith.

He turned his mind to the examination of an old subject, his boyhood's maxim, "growth the only evidence of life" ; the idea of the gradual unfolding of the Divine Mind, which he had been confirmed in by the school of Alexandria ; the earliest, strongest conception, "Two and two only absolute and luminously self-evident beings, myself and my Creator" ; the divinely appointed methods of the teaching of the Unseen.

The central idea of the *Essay on Development* is, that, at the beginning, the Church received the faith "once for all delivered to the saints" as an implicit deposit. As the Church grew beyond the limits of contemporary believers, and difficulties arose, and differences of tradition and perversions of her teaching, it became necessary to state the faith explicitly in creeds, in constitutions, in

canons. When need arose, therefore, to defend herself, the Church found weapons in the arsenal of this deposit, and she defined explicitly what had before been implicitly believed. Newman's theory of development was, in the domain of faith and morals, approximately, what evolution became later in that of physical science: the development of a living organism from a single cell; the complex form from the simple; the adaptation to environment; with the need, the power of satisfying the need.

The Essay enumerates seven notes of the true development of an idea: — preservation of its type, continuity of its principles, its power of assimilation, its logical sequence, anticipation of its future, conservative action upon its past and its chronic vigour. As he proceeded with his work he became more and more convinced that the Roman Church best answered the true requirements of development thus laid down, and finally dis-

carded the adjective "Roman," speaking thenceforth of those Christians in communion with Rome simply as Catholics. To his intellectual perception these tests of development found their fulfilment so completely in the Roman Church, whilst in the Anglican communion they were so imperfectly realised, that it became simply a matter of following the Light to pass into the Roman communion. He had seen his star in the East and must needs go to worship Him. This conviction might indeed, be the "blessed vision of peace" ; but was as yet only a vision, not a realisation.

Pusey had been imperfectly acquainted with the progress of Newman's mind since the retirement to Littlemore. He was always so chivalrously ready to fight his friends' battles, and to share their burdens, that Newman shrank from talking of matters which would pain his old friend, and the difference between them was greater

than Pusey knew. "I trust after all we shall keep him," was always in his mind.

In August, 1844, Newman made his position clear to Pusey in a letter concluding with the words :—

And now, my dear Pusey, do take in the whole of the case, nor shut your eyes, as you so kindly do continually, and God bless all things to you, as I am sure He will and does.

Pusey at last saw plainly, and replied : "I do not shut my eyes now ; I feel everything I do is hollow, and dread its cracking." Though so sadly affected by the nearness of parting, his faith in Newman, and in his own Church, were unshaken. He formed an opinion that Newman was in some way designed as an instrument to restore the Roman Church, and was not to be looked upon as an example in his particular act of secession by those who had learnt of him.

On October 3, 1845, Newman wrote

again: "I have written to the Provost to-day to resign my Fellowship. Anything may happen to me now any day," and, on the 8th, to his sister, Mrs. J. Mozley:—

I must tell you what will pain you greatly, but I will make it as short as you would wish me to do. This night Father Dominic, the Passionist, sleeps here. He does not know of my intention, but I shall ask him to receive me into what I believe to be the One Fold of the Redeemer. This will not go till all is over.

From the care of sheep in Italian fields a boy had entered into the priesthood, and now paused at Littlemore "to fulfil a work in God's service," which was to complete the greatest triumph of his Church in England during three hundred years. Newman passed on October 9 from the English communion to that of Rome.

And the others? Many of the younger school preceded or followed Newman to Rome; others diverged and developed in opinion in their several

ways; the remnant of the old school remained with their leaders. At Christ Church, Pusey stood like a rock with the ocean thundering at its feet, firm, immovable; and Keble, like a tree deep-rooted in the soil of his own green Hursley, tossed, indeed, by the wind, but to whose branches the singing birds would come again.

Such a step as Newman's would have been for Pusey a rejection of "her whom God has not rejected."

I remember [he said] Newman saying to me at Littlemore, "Oh, Pusey! we have leant on the Bishops, and they have broken down under us!" It was too late then to say anything: he was already leaving us. But I thought to myself, "At least I never leant on the Bishops: I leant on the Church of England."

To Newman, his step was like

coming into port after a rough sea. . . . O long sought after, tardily found, desire of the eyes, joy of the heart, the truth after many shadows, the fulness after many foretastes, the home after many storms, . . . [a coming to her] who can unfold the secret of your being and the meaning of your destiny.

Not for him was to be the daily walk through Oxford streets, the familiar greeting of grey colleges, and spires and towers; nor the life which he had imagined for himself as inseparable from his university as was the snap-dragon growing on the walls of his own Trinity. On February 23, 1846, he left Littlemore, passed into the world,

And came, as most men deem'd, to little good,
But came to Oxford and his friends no more.

VIII.

IF, in one sense, Newman's entry into the Catholic Church had been like coming into the safety and smoothness of port, yet, in another, as he himself said, it was like going out alone into a sea open and unknown. In his forty-fifth year he passed from the security of a university, from the familiar intercourse of loyal and tender friends and the habits of half a life to associates whom he had yet to learn to love for themselves, and to a system immense and strange.

Some links with the past remained: he was greeted by those who had taken the step before him, and the friend of his later love, Ambrose St. John, joined him a few weeks after.

Newman had followed the leading of the single star shining above his valley of humiliation to what seemed to him the cradle of the Incarnate God, and he

tendered to Dr. Wiseman the same obedience he had always offered to his Anglican Bishop. He found strength in what must surely be the great consolation of a convert to Rome in the continual presence of the Blessed Sacrament.

I am [he wrote to Pusey, to whom his thoughts turned with desire] in a house in which Christ is always present as He was to His disciples, and where one can go in from time to time through the day to gain strength from Him.

The correspondence with Pusey languished, for Newman found that his old friend was firm in his own position.

At Oscott, a Roman Catholic post from which Oxford had been long observed with interest and growing hope, Newman was confirmed by Dr. Wiseman.

In October, 1846, Newman, St. John and others were called to Rome. When he last stood above the banks of the Tiber the impression upon his mind was

of a pagan city, inert, and strange ; but he returned with different eyes. He was ordained, and elected to become an Oratorian, a son of that S. Philip whom he had so greatly loved while an Anglican,—S. Philip Neri, a saint of the world like S. Francis of Sales, playful, tender, severe, with that great heart of charity which becomes all things to all men for the love of God and His creatures. From Rome he wrote : —

Our lot is fixed. . . . Don't think me ambitious. I am not. I have no views. It will be enough for me if I get into some active work and save my own soul.

Dr. Newman (he had received his Doctor's degree in Rome : his Oxford divinity degree was that of Bachelor) returned to England and eventually settled at Edgbaston, Birmingham, as Superior of the Oratory he founded there.

In 1848 a volume was published anonymously, *Loss and Gain, the Story of a Con-*

vert, which told, with some of the looser methods of a novel, the history of the conversion of an Oxford undergraduate from the English to the Roman communion. In 1874 it was republished, with Newman's name upon the title-page and a dedication. It is not the story of Newman's conversion, though it contains here and there fragments of autobiography ; nor does it deal with the Oxford movement in any final or serious way. The lighter and ridiculous aspects of the movement are touched upon, with others as understood by a clever, serious young man. It contains passages of real pathos, of lasting beauty (particularly the description of Mass, beginning "It is not a mere form of words"), of grotesque humour, and many keenly remembered details of Oxford life, but is wholly spoiled by chapters ix. and x., which, as presented to the reader, are incredible as fact and ridiculous as literature.

In 1850 were gathered into a volume sundry sermons preached in Birmingham. For the wide highways or glorified lanes of Oxford he had exchanged the "narrow streets of Birmingham"; for grey S. Mary's, a modern suburban church; for the students of a great university, the labourers or mechanics of a feverish industrial town. What effect had these changes upon his teaching? These *Discourses addressed to Mixed Congregations* have lost some of the reserve of the *Parochial Sermons*, the fancy plays in an ampler garden, the imagination returns to old thoughts and magnifies and glorifies them without the constant carping of the halting intellect as he speaks. He no longer hesitates to speak of traditions of the saints, of S. John "plunged into the hot oil," of S. Philip "carried across purgatory without any scorching of its flames," but the mind is the same mind, moving within a larger orbit, and with one

main dogma added to its faith — an ardent devotion to the Mother of God conceived without sin, as the highest of created beings, powerful in intercession. These sermons display his old, keen grasp of the facts of life, of the secrets of the heart, his penetrating and illuminating thought. “The mental sufferings of Our Lord in His passion” burns into the brain the fact which surely he was not the first nor the last to realise, that physical pain is felt in intensity in the ratio of the intellect and imagination of the sufferer.

Nor was it only in familiar methods of writing, thinking and speaking that his released energies worked. In his new home he moved upon the daily parish round, and, when cholera broke out at Bilston, volunteered with Ambrose St. John to take the place of disabled priests there.

His own special mission, the establishment of the Oratorian order in England,

also progressed. In 1850 he founded in London, at King William Street, Strand, a branch house. Its home was on the site of Toole's Theatre, since demolished; and, in the course of the year, it began an independent existence under F. W. Faber. Here was delivered in July a series of lectures, *Certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans in Catholic teaching considered*, addressed to the party of the religious movement of 1833 by the leader who had found it impossible longer to defend the positions of that movement. The difficulties considered are those which had appealed to his own mind, and the principal argument which he directs against the Anglican position is that which so largely influenced his own decision; namely, that the Anglican Church as she existed in her practical system and temper was not a Church. Side by side with this is the added argument for Rome's infallible voice (when expressed solemnly as the mind of the

Church by its chief pastor and doctor) as the last word in questions of faith. It is a reiteration of the old idea enunciated with wonderful clearness and detail; the economy of grace, the interpretation of Divine truth by human symbols, the mind of the man holding with full intellectual assent the intuitions of the boy; the insistent, patient pressure of the Divine Mind upon human intellect converting, touch by touch, implicit faith into its explicit statement, the conflict of thought and the expression of contraries through centuries of dispute clarifying thought itself until, by no arbitrary pronouncement but in the fulness of time, the judgment of the Church is pronounced by the voice of the confirmer of the faith and the controversy on that particular point is closed forever. The idea of this great, silent, assimilating power fills his imagination: so feeble in appearance, "a few old men, with red

hats and stockings, or a hundred pale students, with . . . beads in their girdles," yet so strong in essence, "an unknown something, which [the world] feels but cannot see, which flits around it, which flaps against its cheek with the air, with the wind" ;—so feeble against the power of the world, "destroy them ; then there will be other old men, and other pale students," yet banish the Papacy from the physical and intellectual world and "the multitude of interests [in the Catholic world] encircle the combat, and hide the fortune of the day from the eyes of the world ; . . . and then the old man is found in his own place, as before, saying Mass over the tomb of the Apostles."

The claim of the solemn documentary statement of the English Church and of acts to which she was committed by the deliberate assent of the whole body as opposed to individual expressions of her bishops is not considered, nor does Newman attack the position of *Tract 90*.

In 1851 he delivered at Birmingham a series of lectures on *The Present Position of Catholics in England*. They exhibit his use of irony as a finely tempered, exquisitely employed weapon of controversy, the refinements of the *duello* transferred to the province of words. The question of the Roman Catholic hierarchy had just been settled in England by Papal Bull, and a great outcry was raised throughout the country against what was popularly known as "the Papal Aggression." It was in the course of one of these Birmingham lectures, which dealt with abuses in the Church, that Dr. Newman pointed to a living example in a Dr. Achilli, an ex-Dominican monk, who was delivering anti-Roman lectures in the same town. On the publication of the book Newman was sued in the Court of Queen's Bench for libel. He defended the case and called a number of witnesses, but was found guilty, and fined £100. The ex-

penses of the trial were met by public subscription.

In 1854 Newman became Rector of the new Catholic University in Dublin, thus returning to the work of his earlier years. He worked hard to realise an Oxford ideal, pleading for literature and a thorough secular education as the best safeguards of a faith which had eventually to withstand the trials of the world. These ideas he set forth in the lectures published under the title of *The Idea of a University*.

While in Ireland he completed *Callista: A Tale of the Third Century*. Newman had laid it aside "from sheer inability to devise personages and incidents"; and, although it contains characteristic passages, yet, had he never resumed the work after that first pause, imaginative literature, it is to be supposed, could have borne the loss with patience.

His mind often returned to Oxford,

“smit with its splendour and its sweetness,”—Oxford, in its “mere human loveliness,” which he would fain restore to “its prime honour and boast as a servant and soldier of the truth.” He had a project of establishing a branch house of the Oratory there, as a hall of residence for students of his communion, going so far as to buy land for the purpose. The scheme met with opposition from many quarters, and was abandoned, but not all his labours for higher education were to miscarry. He established in connection with the Oratory at Birmingham a school for the education of sons of wealthy Catholics, “boys not destined to the ecclesiastical state, and not above twelve years of age on their admission.” He had very clear views on the advantage of secular education, even for those destined for the Church. In discussing the case of such a boy, about whom his advice was asked, he wrote :—

The thought is awful, that boys should have had no trial of their heart, till, at the end of some fourteen years, they go out into the world with the most solemn vows upon them, and then, perhaps for the first time, learn that the world is not a seminary. . . . Moreover, I dread too early a separation from the world for another reason—for the spirit of formalism, affectation, and preciseness, which it is so very apt to occasion.

IX.

THE work which is most intimately associated with Newman's name was the direct result of an article in *Macmillan's Magazine* for January, 1864. In a review of Froude's *History of England* the Rev. Charles Kingsley, Professor of Modern History in Cambridge University, said : —

Truth, for its own sake, had never been a virtue with the Roman clergy. Father Newman informs us that it need not, and on the whole ought not to be.

A correspondence ensued between Kingsley and Newman during the course of which Kingsley, upon being asked to specify the grounds of his charge, admitted that they were to be found in a sermon preached by Newman as an Anglican upon "Wisdom and Innocence." As Kingsley persisted in his charges Newman resolved to take the public into his confidence, and issued rapidly, on consecutive Thursdays be-

tween April 21 and June 2, with an appendix on June 16, *Apologia pro vita sua*, being a reply to a pamphlet by the Rev. C. Kingsley entitled "What then does Dr. Newman mean?" Newman had long felt that he was under suspicion, not unnaturally, he admitted, owing to his change of religion after so long defending the Anglican position at Oxford; and he welcomed the opportunity given him by an opponent of name to vindicate his position.

I do not deny that there is something very engaging in a frank and unpretending manner; some persons have it more than others; in some persons it is a great grace.

These words Newman had spoken seventeen years earlier in the sermon which Kingsley had attacked: his own *Apologia* was now to prove their truth. With the most engaging openness, in the simplest and most direct words, he traced the origin, the growth and the ultimate development of his religious opinions;

confessed his indebtedness to this man and that ; proved agreements and divergences of opinion, showed grounds of belief, tests of truth, acceptances of positions and their logical outcome, and described the period of doubt, of hesitation, of suspense, all, to the last step. .

Newman's defence was so transparently honest that it convinced opponents of his integrity, and it touched a public which is neither greatly interested in theology nor careful about accuracy of thought.

Probably to most new readers of the *Apologia* any thought about its style does not occur ; that is, if they are reading it honestly as a book, and have not been sent to it as to a model. They will return to it again and again with a growing appreciation of the power of words, but still not to words for their own sake but as vehicles of exact thought. Yet, as regards beauty, to quote one instance, there are few more beautiful words to be found in a beautiful literature than

those of the Dedication, in which ordinary English names move with the high pomp of Malory's titles of Arthur's Knights, or the sonorous catalogue of countries in *Paradise Regained*. With regard to style, Newman said of himself:—

As to patterns for imitation, the only master of style I ever had (which is strange, considering the differences of the languages) is Cicero. I think I owe a great deal to him, and, as far as I know, to no one else.

Henry Edward Manning (who had been known at Oxford on account of a certain authoritative manner as "the General," and who was by no means a thorough supporter of the Tractarian movement) had joined the Roman communion in 1851, and in 1864 addressed a published letter to Dr. Pusey on "The Workings of the Holy Spirit in the Church of England," giving what Pusey considered a very unfair account of the English Church. Pusey's reply

took the form of an *Eirenicon* in a published letter to Keble: he thought that many of the differences between Anglicans and Roman Catholics arose through confusion of terms, that some of the Anglican difficulties were not in questions *de fide*, but merely in matters of popular devotion; he hoped there might be a reunion between the Churches on the basis of the decrees of the Council of Trent, if Rome would only state clearly what were and what were not matters of the Faith. Newman believed the only way was submission; and he was at first rather hurt by extracts from Roman writers given by Pusey, who hoped that they need only be stated to be disavowed. In *A Letter addressed to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., on occasion of his Eirenicon* (1866), thinking of these hard sayings, Newman wrote:—

There was one of old time who wreathed his sword in myrtle; excuse me—you discharge your olive-branch as if from a catapult.

He did all that he could by discussion and advice to help forward Pusey's objects, but eventually nothing came of the overtures.

The three friends Newman, Keble and Pusey, united in affection though divided by their conception of the Church, met, by a happy accident, at Hursley in the autumn of 1865 after a separation of nineteen years. When Newman arrived at the vicarage Keble was at the door speaking to a friend. Neither knew the other. Keble asked his visitor's name, and Newman feared to ask who Keble was: a visiting card made the reintroduction. In the study Pusey joined them, and they talked upon subjects held in common. Before they separated Keble "began to converse with more than his old intimacy as if [they] had never been parted." Writing afterwards, Newman said of the meeting "Mrs. Keble being ill, we three dined *tête à tête* together, a thing which per-

haps we never did before in our lives," and Pusey wrote : —

Strangely, I met J. H. N. at dear J. K.'s this week. . . . He is deeply lined. It is the first time I have seen him since he came to me at Tenby, when I was ill [in 1846]. We talked comfortably about past, present, future.

The local papers spread the report of the meeting, and Pusey wrote to the *Guardian* to correct the statement copied into its columns.

The statement is, that Dr. N. and myself were "*reconciled* after twenty years." The deep love between us, which now dates back for above forty years, has never been in the least overshadowed. His leaving us was one of the deep sorrows of my life ; but it involved separation of place, not diminution of affection.

When the spring of 1866 had starred Hursley banks with the first primroses Keble passed into the ampler fold of death to his place with the "living dead." "When *he* was wandering, he spoke of the reunion of the Churches, and I think that he spoke as if he were present at it," Pusey wrote to Newman.

Newman, without in any degree compromising his own position of submission to the Roman See, pursued Cardinal Wiseman's method of explaining points at issue between the Churches, so that at least misunderstanding and prejudice might be eliminated from the controversy. His attitude was not approved by a section of his communion, nor by the authorities of the See of Westminster. He was accused of "Gallicanism" on the evidence of passages in the *Apologia*, in his *Eirenicon* letter to Dr. Pusey and in a sermon. On the other hand he was affectionately supported by all those Catholics of moderate opinions who could not go to lengths with the extreme party with whom that "most generous of all Ultramontanes," W. G. Ward, was now associated.

In *The Month* for May and June, 1865, appeared a poem, *The Dream of Gerontius*, which is, perhaps, the best single example of Newman's genius.

The most marked characteristic of a mind possessed of what is known as Genius is the fewness and intensity of constantly recurring ideas: that is to say, everything which enters the mind is instinctively viewed from, and grouped round, the mastering intuitions,—*omnibus umbra locis*. The overmastering and controlling conception in the mind of Newman was of the existence and constant presence of God, a fact of which he was more sure than that he himself possessed hands and feet; and with this there was the allied sense of isolation, of the alone with the Alone.

He was, then, expressing that self, without which his life was hardly conceivable, in the most literal way, when he put into words this history of a Christian soul passing from the body and conveyed by its guardian angel to meet its Creator. Amid surroundings upon which most men do not care to dwell Newman's mind moved naturally, and

it is possible for the reader really to form a conception of a disembodied soul with some apparent nearness to metaphysical truth. He returned to an old thought, expressed in *Tract 90*, with reference to the Real Presence; namely, that the perception of our eyes or ears may not be the standard of presence or distance.

SOUL OF GERONTIUS.

I went to sleep; and now I am refreshed.
 A strange refreshment: for I feel in me
 An inexpressive lightness, and a sense
 Of freedom, as I were at length myself,
 And ne'er had been before. How still it is!
 I hear no more the busy beat of time,
 No, nor my fluttering breath, nor struggling
 pulse;
 Nor does one moment differ from the next.
 I had a dream; yes: — some one softly said
 "He's gone;" and then a sigh went round the
 room.
 And then I surely heard a priestly voice
 Cry "Subvenite"; and they knelt in prayer.

The Angel explains that time is not
 measured as with men,

But intervals in their succession
 Are measured by the living thought alone,

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**And grow or wane with its intensity.
And time is not a common property.**

The soul is brought into the presence of Christ where

before the Throne
 Stands the great Angel of the Agony
 The same who strengthened Him, what time
 He knelt
 Lone in the garden shade, bedewed with blood
 That Angel best can plead with Him for all
 Tormented souls, the dying and the dead.

• • • • •

SOUL.

I go before my Judge. Ah!

ANGEL.

Praise to His Name!

The eager spirit has darted from my hold,
And, with the intemperate energy of love
Flies to the dear feet of Emmanuel;
But, ere it reach them, the keen sanctity,
Which with its effluence, like a glory, clothes
And circles round the Crucified, has seized,
And scorched, and shrivelled it; and now it
lies
Passive and still before the awful Throne.
O happy, suffering soul! for it is safe,
Consumed, yet quickened, by the glance of
God.

X.

DR. NEWMAN had his "own subject," one, he wrote

I have wished to do all my life. . . . I have the same fidget about it as a horseman might feel about a certain five feet stone wall which he passes by means of a gate every day of his life, yet is resolved he must and will some day clear — and at last breaks his neck in attempting.

In 1870 he put his horse to the stone wall, and *An Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent* was published.

This, I think [he wrote about the book to a friend], has tried me most of all. I have written and re-written it more times than I can count. I have now got up to my highest point. I mean I could not do better, did I spend a century on it.

It traces "the gradual effect produced by the implicit action of honest and anxious reflection on an observant and vigilant mind" in the search for certitude. He seeks to prove that arguing by syllogisms (though an excellent training for the intellect) and logic (though

the basis of intellectual processes) does not really prove, because the very fact of bringing ideas within the range of a syllogism robs them of their real attributes. In other words, the results of logic are notional as opposed to real. He draws a line between real and notional assent; a notional assent may become a real assent, but is, strictly speaking, of no value in regard to life until it does so become. To know is to be sure that one knows, and the knowledge is obtained by a multitude of converging probabilities, in the same way in which sufficient certitude is arrived at in the ordinary affairs of life, or in a court of law. The strength of a case does not depend upon any one witness, or upon any one fact, but upon the cumulative evidence of all.

The value of the book as illustrating Newman's own mind lies in the weight which he gives to real assent — the real things a mind believes when it strips

away notional assent and holds by first principles only—to intuitive beliefs. The conclusion is, cultivate your own garden, be guided by your own conscience, be faithful to your own ideas (using all the aids of logic) and you will arrive at certitude.

I am what I am, or I am nothing. I cannot think, reflect, or judge about my being, without starting from the very point which I aim at concluding. My ideas are all assumptions, and I am ever moving in a circle. I cannot avoid being sufficient for myself, for I cannot make myself anything else, and to change me is to destroy me. If I do not use myself, I have no other self to use. My only business is to ascertain what I am, in order to put it to use. It is enough for the proof of the value and authority of any function which I possess, to be able to pronounce that it is natural. What I have to ascertain is the laws under which I live.

It is the justification of genius, but genius, in his case, subject to the incessant control of the testing and reflecting functions of the intellect.

Newman, who had some claim to un-

derstand the religious mind of Englishmen of the dogmatic school, was pained by the extreme statements (as he thought them) promulgated chiefly by converts. When he entered the Roman Church he found a wise desire on the part of his ecclesiastical superiors to make a choice suited to the national mind among the devotions which the Church left to the discretion of her children. There seemed now a wish to disturb this peace, and to force particular devotions and more important matters upon Catholics, "scandalizing these little ones who believe in Christ."

On December 8, 1869, the Vatican Council met,—a concourse of bishops gathered from the ends of the earth. The Council sat until July 18, 1870, upon which day the decree of Papal Infallibility was promulgated. The decree taught it to be a dogma divinely revealed that, when the Roman Pontiff defines, by virtue of his office, a doc-

trine regarding Faith or Morals, such definitions are of themselves unalterable, and not from the consent of the Church.

It will be seen at once that this made any immediate reconciliation between England and Rome impossible: the English appeal was to a Council of Roman, Greek and Anglican bishops, not to a Papal pronouncement, however hedged by safeguards.

In the controversies which preceded the Vatican Council Newman keenly opposed the opinion that the definition was necessary. He held that a dogma had been defined in the past only when an essential of the faith had been threatened; that no such necessity had now arisen; and that such a pronouncement would retard the cause of Catholic unity and press hardly upon individuals in the Church. A private letter addressed to his Bishop, strongly expressing this view, appeared, by means not explained, in the public press; and he

was accused of playing with his conscience in accepting the decree. It will, however, be evident, if the type and development of Newman's mind have been made in any degree clear, that this could not be so. Papal infallibility, as ultimately defined, was the final and consistent stronghold of what has been called, for lack of a better word, Platonism, as Newman had developed it; and there could not be any difficulty about a personal teaching voice to one who had said so long ago "What to me was *jure divino* was the voice of my Bishop in his own person." Here is his philosophical position, in his own words, from the *Apologia* : —

Nothing, then, can be presented to me, in time to come, as part of the faith, but what I ought already to have received, and hitherto have been kept from receiving, (if so,) merely because it has not been brought home to me.

In 1874 Mr. Gladstone published a pamphlet on the Vatican decree in

which he declared that Rome had repudiated modern thought and ancient history, and that "no one can become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another." Newman replied by *A Letter addressed to his Grace the Duke of Norfolk on occasion of Mr. Gladstone's recent expostulation*, in which he maintained that the decree in no way affected the position of a Catholic as a good citizen and patriot. In the last paragraph but one he summed up, in a characteristic sentence, the claim of his conscience to freedom of judgment in matters not of the faith : —

Secondly for the benefit of some Catholics I would observe that, while I acknowledge one Pope, *jure divino*, I acknowledge no other, and that I think it a usurpation, too wicked to be comfortably dwelt upon, when individuals use their private judgment, in the discussion of religious questions, not simply "*abundare in suo sensu*" but for the purpose of anathematizing the private judgment of others.

In 1875 Ambrose St. John, of the Oratory, died. He had been, Newman said, "my life, under God, for thirty-two years," one "whom God gave me, when He took every one else away ; who [was] the link between my old life and my new." He was buried in the little graveyard of the Oratory's house at Rednal.

Whatever deep differences still existed between Newman and the majority of his countrymen in matters of doctrine he was now recognised by them as a man to be honoured for his elevation and range of intellect, and his loyalty to conscience. His old college, Trinity—"Trinity had never been unkind to me"—gave expression to this opinion by electing him in 1877 to an Honorary Fellowship. In 1878, after an absence of thirty-two years, he visited the home of many memories as the guest of the President of Trinity, and dined in Hall in his academical dress. In the familiar precincts of Christ Church he visited Dr.

Pusey, who was now old and worn with many fights in defence of dogma.

On February 7, 1878, Pope Pius IX. died and on the 20th of the same month Leo XIII. succeeded to the See of Rome.

Pope Leo XIII, offered through Bishop Ullathorne of Birmingham and Cardinal Manning of Westminster to create Dr. Newman a Cardinal and he accepted the dignity on February 5, 1879. He arrived in Rome on April 16, and was received by the pope on the 27th of the same month. On May 12 he was formally created Cardinal Deacon of S. George in Velabro.

This was his third journey to Rome. In 1833 it had been to him a city of desolation, in 1846 a city of hope, in 1879 the ultimate symbol of his philosophy and faith.

He returned to Birmingham, to the work of the Oratory and to his interest in its school, an interest which extended to the boys' dramatic performances (for

which he adapted Terence's comedies (*Eunuchus* and *Phormio*) and to their school games. In their music he joined with his fiddle. "Dr. Newman has just had a present of a violin," wrote an Oratory boy in 1865. "I suppose it is from Sir F. Rogers [Lord Blachford] whom we met on board the Folkestone boat."

Cardinal Newman spent much time now in retirement at Rednal. At the Oratory he lived very simply, as became a son of S. Philip, fulfilling a placid round of devotion and duty. Years before, in his Anglican days, he wrote, to a lady who had evolved a fancy portrait of him, words which were true of him now, allowing for the depreciation of self-portraiture.

I am *not* venerable, and nothing can make me so. I am what I am. I am very much like other people, and I do not think it necessary to abstain from the feelings and thoughts, not intrinsically sinful, which other people have. I cannot speak words of wisdom : to some it comes naturally. Do not suffer any illusive notion

about me to spring up in your mind. No one ever treats me with deference and respect who knows me, and from my heart I trust and pray that no one ever may. I have never been in office or station, people have never bowed to me, and I could not endure it. I tell you frankly, my infirmity, I believe, is always to be rude to persons who are deferential in manner to me.

Simplicity and magnificence, directness and subtlety, were with him in death as in life. He died, a quiet, kindly old man, among his brethren of S. Philip, and his body was laid in state with the insignia of a Prince of the Holy Roman Church, and carried to the tiny graveyard of the Oratorians at Rednal, and left in the same grave as Ambrose St. John. *Cor ad cor loquitur.*

So closed a life devoted to one great object, God ; and to one great end, self-development along the lines of his own nature — the reconciliation of the intellect with Faith, the enunciation and explanation of dogmatic theology : an end pursued by the single method of

genius under whatever form it may show itself, and with whatever degrees of success, loyalty to Nature through loyalty to the microcosm of Nature, individual mind.

As in a great Gothic church of his communion, grouped round the High Altar are the chapels of the Lord's Mother and of the Saints, and as they derive their sanctity from that central Presence which they have not, so, in Newman's mind, all human thoughts had place because he had prepared in his heart a tabernacle for that Divine Presence which draws and conforms all things to Itself.

Only this I know full well now . . . that the Catholic Church allows no image of any sort, material or immaterial, no dogmatic symbol, no rite, no sacrament, no Saint, not even the Blessed Virgin herself, to come between the soul and its Creator. It is face to face, *solus cum solo*, in all matters between man and his God. He alone creates; He alone has redeemed; before His awful eyes we go in death; in the vision of Him is our eternal beatitude.

Thou hast thrown Thy net skilfully, and its subtle threads are entwined round each affection of my heart, and its meshes have been a power of God, "bringing into captivity the whole intellect to the service of Christ."

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